

THE PEOPLE NORTH OF 50° in quest of understanding

Prepared by J.A. Kleinfelder & A. Yesno Albany River Research Associates Inc.

June 1985

the ROYAL COMMISSION on the NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT



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This publication has been prepared for the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. However, no opinions, positions or recommendations expressed herein should be attributed to the Commission; they are those solely of the authors.

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Foreword

The authors wish to acknowledge their intellectual indebtedness to Dr. Bruce Winterhalder of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Dr. Winterhalder's understanding and articulation of the Boreal Forest and boreal foraging strategies form not only the launching pad for our presentation of "the people north of 50°" but also provided us with a framwork for presenting the past 400 years of human history in the Boreal Forest and a key which opened the door to what we feel is a better understanding of both the present and the recent past. (Dr. Winterhalder must not, of course, be blamed if the key doesn't work for others - the authors must be held responsible for that.)

We thank Dr. Winterhalder for giving the R.C.N.E.'s Fort Hope Project permission to use two papers which at the time were awaiting publication and for providing copies of these along with three others of relevance.

Our discussion of the people is generalized and based on our own experiences and observations in the Boreal Forest and amongst its people as well as our knowledge of Northern Ontario anthropology, archaeology, history and ethnography.



INTRODUCTION

The 50th parallel of latitude is totally irrelevant to a discussion of the people who happen to live to the north of it.

The spatial distribution of, and boundaries between, distinct cultural groupings of North American native peoples were defined by environmental realities, not by imaginary lines. Figures 1 and 1A show the correlation between North America's major ecosystems and major cultural groupings of native peoples; which in turn illustrates that the natural environment determines the particular lifeways of human beings.

l Lines of latitude and longitude are conventions devised by navigators and geographers for their convenience and reference, but bear no reference to the reality upon which they are superimposed. Similary, lines on maps delineating political/administrative territories [some of which are portions of convenient lines of latitude or longitude] are equally useless in such a discussion, having been placed there for the convenience of governments without reference to environmental realities.

This lack of reference to reality means that to think exclusively in such terms (or to try to administrate for that matter) is to obscure the reality and obstruct understanding and, no doubt, lead to inadequate even harmful administrative decisions.

It would be interesting to take a base map of Ontario and do an overlay for each Ministry's administrative districts.

² Superimposing imaginary lines on reality creates divisions where none exist. The people that live in the geographical area bounded by the 50th parallel, the eastern and western boundaries of Ontario and Hudson and James Bays are not culturally distinct from those who live throughout the Boreal Forest to the east, west and south of this area. Not only did they share a common lifeway and language, but they were and are related by marriage, etc. across these boundaries. [e.g., Sandy Lake and God's Lake, Man.; Fort Hope, and Rail Line communities]

Treaties and provincial boundary lines also divided and grouped people according to imaginary lines (the fur trade districts were according to watersheds) and we persist still in dealing with native people as if these lines defined actual groups. Thus Fort Hope, Lansdowne House, Webique and Summer Beaver people are lumped together as "The Fort Hope Band" when in reality they are separate groupings and always were.





Fig. 1A - North America: Major Cultural Areas 5 [Basedon Driver, Map 2]



Fig. 1A - North America: Major Cultural Areas [Basedian Driver, Map 2]

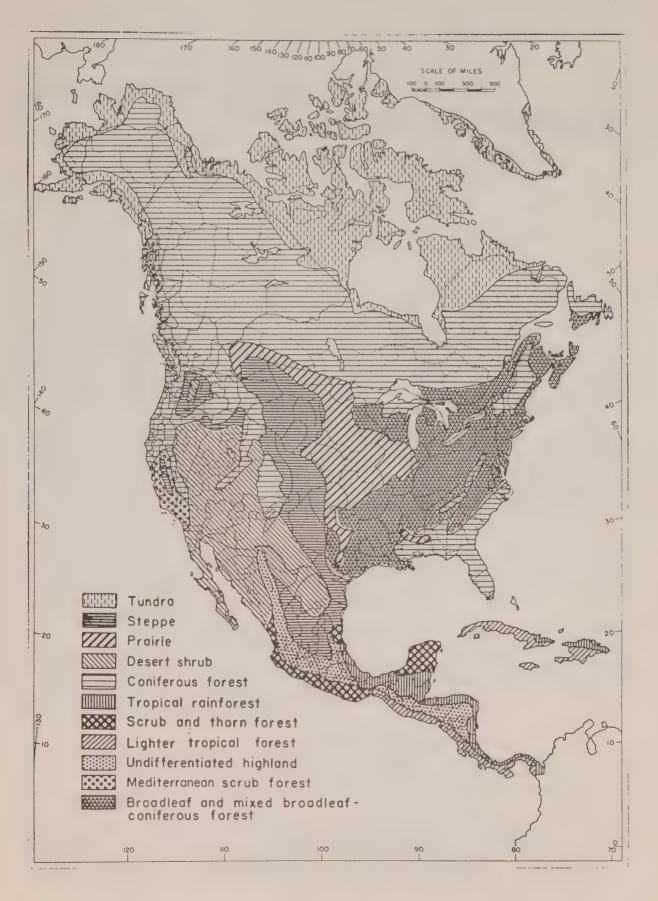


Fig. 1 - North America: Major Ecosystems [Driver, Map 5]

¹ During the past year it was discovered that the oldest rock in the world formed part of the Australian continent. [1983 was a year of firsts for Australia.]

² Mean annual temperatures, snowfall, rainfall, etc. convey nothing of this dynamic.

³ And a dearth of anything resembling civilization.

CANADIAN SHIELD/ BOREAL FOREST

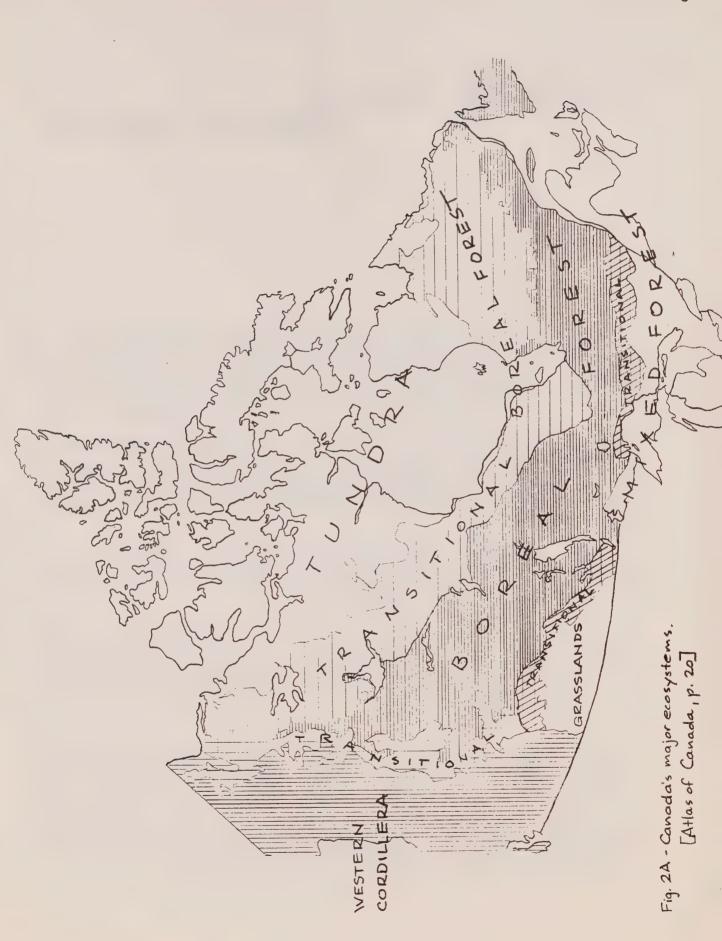
Figure 2A illustrates Canada's major ecosystems. The Boreal Forest is Canada's largest natural region, covering over 25% of the country's land mass and second only to the West Coast Rain Forest in net annual biomass production. (Figure 2B shows the circumpolar extent of the Boreal Forest.) The Boreal Forest, and adjacent transitional zones to the north and south, covers the greatest portion of Ontario and virtually all of Northern Ontario.

Beneath the vegetation cover in Northern Ontario lies the Canadian Shield. The second oldest rock in the world, the Shield has been worn, scoured, carved and etched by weathering and successive glaciations since its formation and provides a highly irregular and rugged bedrock base for water and an incomplete overburden of glaciolacustrine, glaciofluvial, glacial and marine deposited soils.

The Shield cradles and slopes gently toward Hudson Bay, disappearing under the glacial and marine soils of the Hudson Platform. Figures 3, 3A, 3B and 3C show the spatial relationships between the bedrock, soils, major drainage basins and vegetation cover in Northern Ontario.

The northern and southern edges of the Boreal Forest coincide with the summer and winter extent of the Arctic Frontal Zone. Continual and shifting contact between dry cold arctic air masses and relatively warm and moist air masses produces daily and seasonal fluctuations in temperature and precipitation, and, frequently, violent storms. Climate is the dynamic that governs all life forms in the Boreal Forest.²

The impression conveyed by a map of Northern Ontario is that of a vast area of land randomly sprinkled with countless lakes of varying sizes and shapes joined by rivers and streams of equally varying sizes and shapes. Even aerial photographs or actual low-level flight over the Shield tends to convey the impression of endless sameness. It is only by travelling through the Boreal Forest - along the Trans-Canada Highway or Pipeline, along a river or the shore of a large lake, or along the railroad (and at different times of the year) that one gains an awareness of the infinite change and variety that characterizes the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest ecosystem.





[from ; Man and the Boreal Forest, Ecological Bulletins/NFR 21; Tamm, C.O. (ed.)] Fig. 2B - Circumpolar extent of the Boreal Brest.



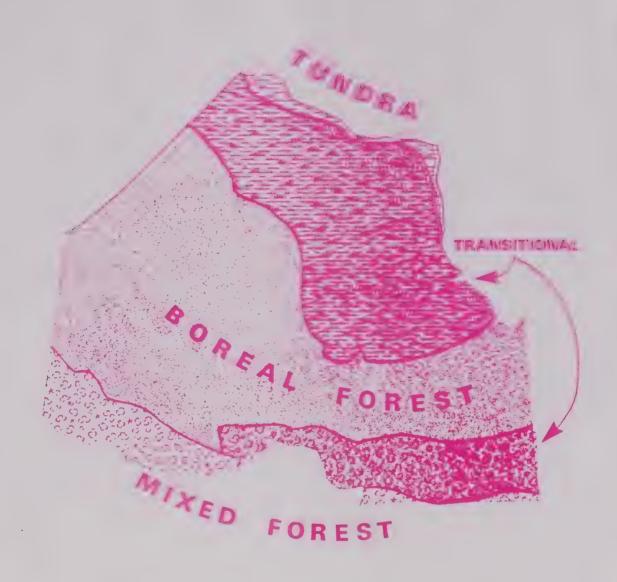


Fig. 3C - Northern Ontario: Vegetation Cover

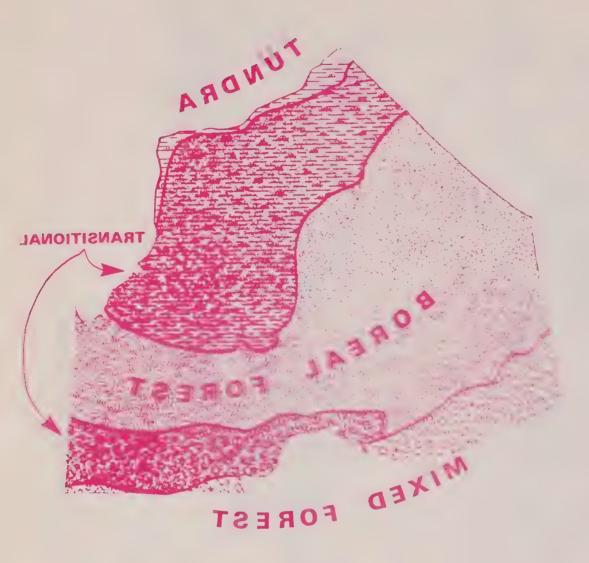


Fig. 3C - Northern Ontorio: Vegetation Cover [Line of Cruation]



Thig. 318 - Mortthern Ontario: Major Drainage Basins
[ONT. DESDOURCES ATLAS]

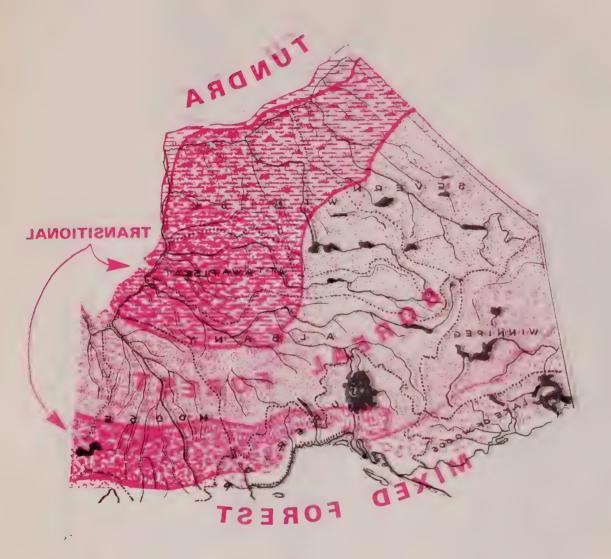
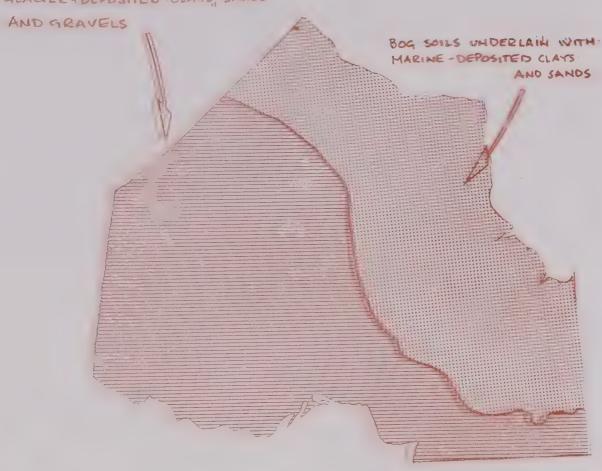


Fig. 3B - Northern Ontario: Major Drainage Basins
Fig. 3C - Northern Ontario: Vegetation Cover
[ATTLY OF CAMADA]



•

Ty 3A Northern Ontario: Soils (simplified)

SHALLEN, ATT: MELY ACIDIC MUMUS (PODROLS) UNDECLAIM WITH GLACIO-LACUSTRINE, GLACIOFLUVIAL OR



Fig. 3A - Marthern Ontario: Sails (simplified)

[CONTINESQUECES MITLES & SOILS OF COMMON!]

Fig. 3B - Morthern Ontario: Major Drainage Basins

Fig. 3C - Morthern Ontario: Vegetation Cover

[Mittern Ontario: Vegetation Cover

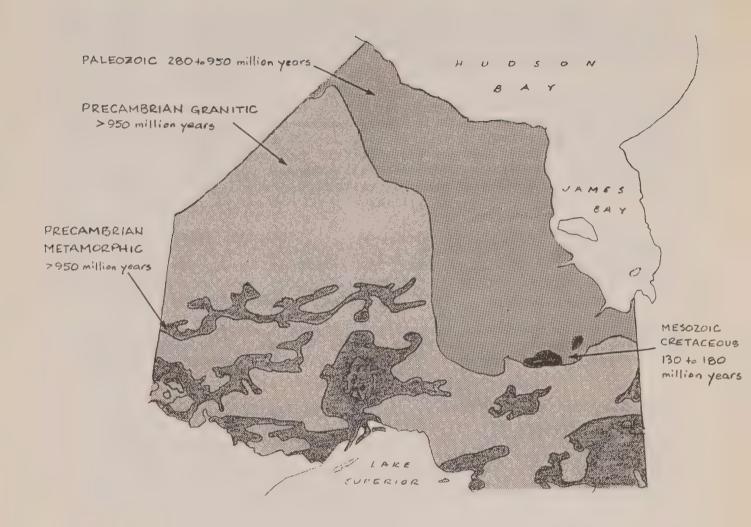


Fig. 3 - Northern Ontario : Bedrock [ONT. RESOURCES ATLAS]

This is scarcely a spectacular or remarkable statement, and it is certainly not unique to the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest - it applies to all the ecosystems that cover this planet. What is amazing about it is that the fact of change, the dynamic aspect of all living things, is omitted both implicity and explicity in western culture's approach to and interaction with the environment. Given our cultural history and biases, it perhaps is not so surprising that we take a mechanistic, assembly line, factory approach to the environment and try to "manage" it by setting it quotas (produce or else) plan for it by taking stock and counting the number of individuals of each kind of species (the inventory/accounting approach) and issue sales pamphlets on each of the 2 dozen different lines we produce (WPLUP's series on "Wild Rice", "Climate", "Bald Eagle", etc.)

The Boreal Forest is a mosaic of irregularly-shaped patches. This "patchiness" results from, and each patch varies in accordance with, the atmospheric factors of temperature, liquid and crystal precipitation, wind and fire (particulary the latter) which themselves vary in frequency, magnitude and duration.

Winterhalder distinguishes 11 basic patch-types, six of which represent different stages in the successional growth of boreal forest on upland areas, four of which represent different sets of floral species due to differing degrees of water-saturation of lowland areas and the final one representing all acquatic habitats. (Appendix A) Using this patch-type classification, Winterhalder distinguished 386 different patches in a 438.6 sq. km. (171.3 sq. mi.) area surrounding Muskrat Dam. (Appendix B)

Since the present discussion is considering all of Northern Ontario, to Winterhalder's list must be added a very generalized "patch-type": the tundra areas along the coasts of Hudson and James Bays. This "patch-type" is accessible to those who lived (and live) along the tree line - either within or along the northern limits of the Boreal Forest.

Each patch-type provides a habitat for a distinct assemblage or set of faunal species (Appendix C), some of which take up permanent residence, some of which use the habitat seasonally and some of which move between patches of a specific type.

The atmospheric factors mentioned above also govern the lives and patterns of existence of faunal species. All must adapt to the seasonal temperature extremes by migration, hibernation or growth of undercoat; all are effected by the spring to fall fluctuations in water levels or stream flow; animals that remain mobile all year round are seriously effected by depth of snow cover and by the restrictions to movement and the hazards presented by two additional seasons; freeze-up and break-up.

Overlaid upon the atmospherically generated changes to the flora and fauna of the Boreal Forest is another dimension of change: the cyclical fluctuations in the populations of some species such as hare, which, of course, ripple up the food chain to also effect the predators of such species.

• • • • •

The one single constant that emerges from this brief look at the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest is: the dynamic and complex interaction of many variables. The single most important aspect of the environment is change - from hour to hour, day to day, season to season and year to year. No two places are the same and no two places have the same history.

- 1 Not much, eh? And yet 25 years ago in an archaeology class at the University of Toronto, the answer to the question "What people lived in the northern part of the province in prehistoric times?" was "No one the climate was too severe." What this really meant was that no one knew because no one had looked. The work of K.C.A. Dawson (Lakehead University) during 1960's and the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture during the 1970's has proven otherwise.
- 2 Due to the preoccupation of archaeologists with artifacts per se rather than as providing clues about people and their culture which also means that the information contained in historic and ethnographic records as well as that from living memories is just not part of the archaeological interpretation. Even the quantity and quality of the artifact data base leaves a great deal to be desired the survey nature of the archaeological work that has been done means that the archaeologists have been just as nomadic as their quarry. The people of the Boreal Forest left few traces because they were nomadic, and the survey archaeologist retrieves only a small percentage of what may have been left because his or her goal is to locate sites, not conduct extensive and intensive excavations of sites.

It might be of interest to the R.C.N.E. to note here that the archaeological work in Northern Ontario has suffered from the fact that almost all archaeologists have been trained in Southern Ontario and learned techniques and analytical/interpretive methods that evolved from work with southern prehistoric agricultural village sites which are different kettles of fish from the overnight or seasonal campsites of nomadic peoples just as the soil build-up in an evergreen forest is going to be quite different than that in a deciduous forest. Only micro-archaeological techniques and a broader data base that includes historical and ethonographical records, the information in living memories, and information concerning palaeo-climates and palaeo-botany and -zoology will lead to a more complete understanding of the prehistoric peoples of the north.

Without a substantial change in an environment, there can be no substantial change in the lifeways demanded by that environment. Thus the essentials of a valid picture of the lifeways peculiar to the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest can be compiled from an understanding of the environment as it is today, from those who still depend on foraging for most of their livelihood, from living memory and ethnological and historical records.

BOREAL LIFEWAYS

In an ecosystem as complex and variable as the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest, which is literally "as changeable as the weather", life is dependent on so many possible permutations and combinations of circumstances that people too must be "as changeable as the weather". It is almost impossible to make any statement about the people of the Boreal Forest without also adding: "...but it all depends..." and elaborating conditions that instantly come to mind when the statement would not or could not hold true.

The reader is therefore cautioned that the exposition that follows is an attempt to uncover the substratum of boreal lifeways that underlies countless variations from group to group that have been recorded, continue to be encountered and that probably, given the environment, always existed. Of necessity, specifics will be mentioned, but they should be taken as examples only, not as universally applicable. All things being equal, an example could well be generally true - but all things are rarely, if ever, equal in the boreal ecosystem.

.

As far as can be determined from the archaeological evidence available today, homo sapiens has always been one of the species to be found in the Boreal Forest. Table I is the most recent chronological synthesis of that evidence, and outlines what is known about human occupation of the Ontario portion of the Canadian Shield since the recession of the last glacier. Virtually any lakeshore or riverbank where archaeologists have looked has held traces of earlier peoples. (Figure 4) Many lakes and rivers remain to be examined; Figure 5 shows where archaeologists have been and the major sites known at present. However, the archaeological work tells us little about how prehistoric peoples lived.²

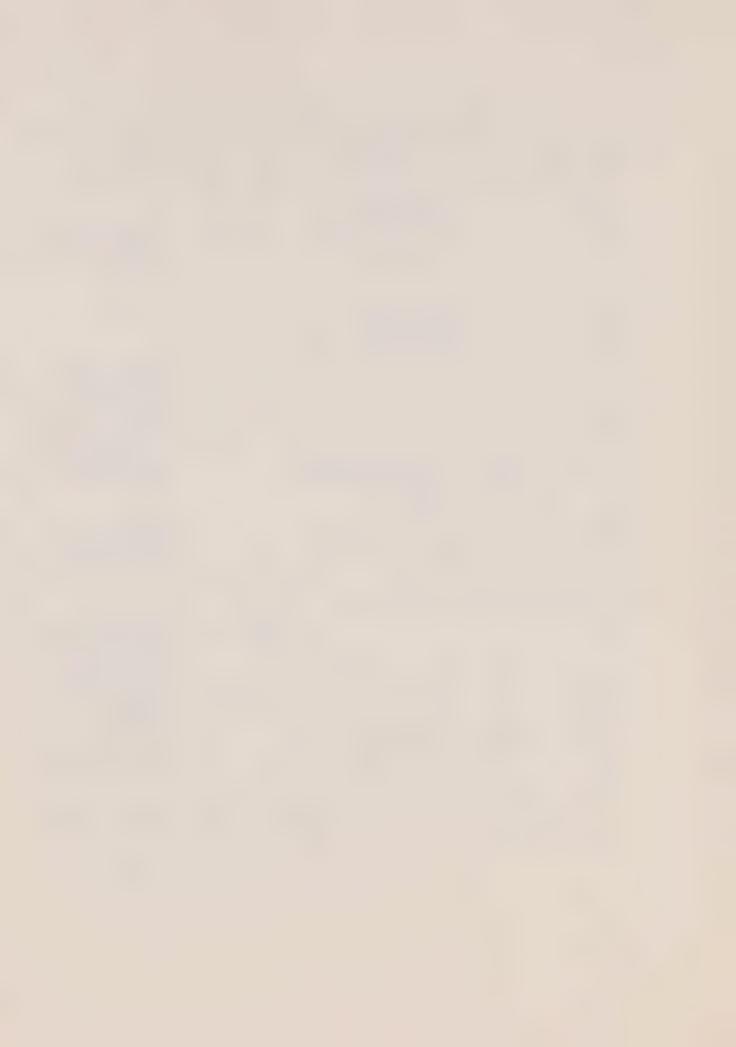
Lifeways, or patterns of living, are the product of (a) the basic requirements for survival (food, shelter, other members of one's own species) and (b) the particular environment which sets the parameters that determine the particulars of the basic requirements and how they are sought and acquired. The people of the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest were semi-nomadic, riverine people.



TABLE 1. Climatic-Biotic and Cultural Patterns of Northern Ontario

	Postglacial climates ^a			Postglacial cultures		
Date ,	Pattern	Episode	Salient conditions	Period	Culture	Salient markers
8000 B.C.	Boreal	Early	Abrupt climate change Rapid glacial retreat	-		
7500 B.C.			Boreal forest in south disappears Western end of Lake Superior ice- free	Paleo-Indian	Plano	Big-game hunters on relic lake shores north of upper Great Lakes
7000 B.C.			Shift of grasslands north			Lanceolate ripple-flaked biface tools
		Late				
6000 B.C.			Minor glaciation in north			
			Rapid in situ ice wasting			
5500 B.C.			Forest migrates north (no tundra?) Climatic amelioration			
5000 B.C.			Chinade anichoration	Archaic	Shield	Changes in tools; shift from
						quarried to nodular flint
						Population expands north
						Tool kit evolved out of Plano;
						notched and stemmed points
4000 B.C.						Dogs appear
,						In south new technology; pecked and polished stone and copper
	Atlantic	Engly Sub	Forest reaches most northerly position			Introduction of bow and arrow
3000 B.C.	Atlantic	Boreal	~2°N of present position in central			Decrease in tool size
3000 B.C.	1	Doicei	Canada			200.0000 100. 3.20
			Second major warming			
						6 1611
2000 B.C. 1500 B.C.		Late Sub-	Forest shifts south to its present			Gorges and fish hook tools
1300 B.C.		Boreal	Forest shifts south to its present position			Increase in small scrapers Notched, triangular points
		Doicai	Cooler			Notelied, triangular points
1000 B.C.						
500 B.C.		Sub-	Cooler, much wetter			
200 P.C	Atlanti	c Atlantic	Growth of upland muskeg	Woodland	Laurel	Pottomi Gest appears; blanding of
200 B.C.				Initial	Laurei	Pottery first appears; blending of Shield and new, related people
				*********		Population expands north
						Lithics reduced in size
400 A.D.		Scandic	Transitional warming			Burial mounds in south
700 A.D.				Woodland	Algonkian	Blending of new, related peoples
				Terminal		from south
900 A.D.		Neo- Atlantic	Warm; forest advances north			Diverse ceramics
1200 A.D.		Pacific	Cooler; forest retreats south			Population expands to northwest
1550-		Neo-	Cooler (Little Ice Age)			Burial mounds disappear
1650		Boreal				
A.D. 1850 A.D.		Daniel		Historiaal	Mostham	Literaile conleged by France
1050 A D		Recent		Historical	Northern	Utensils replaced by European

^aBased on Bryson and Wendland (1967).



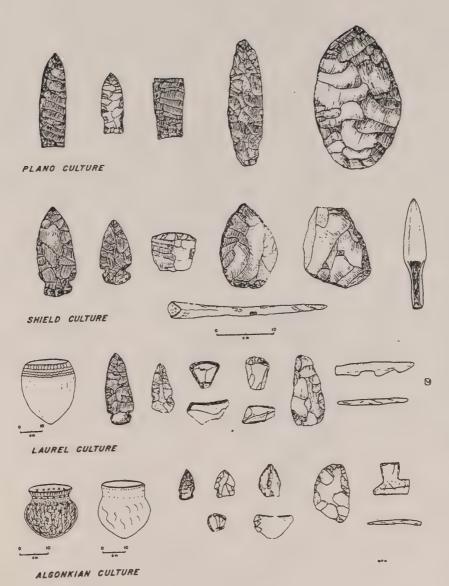
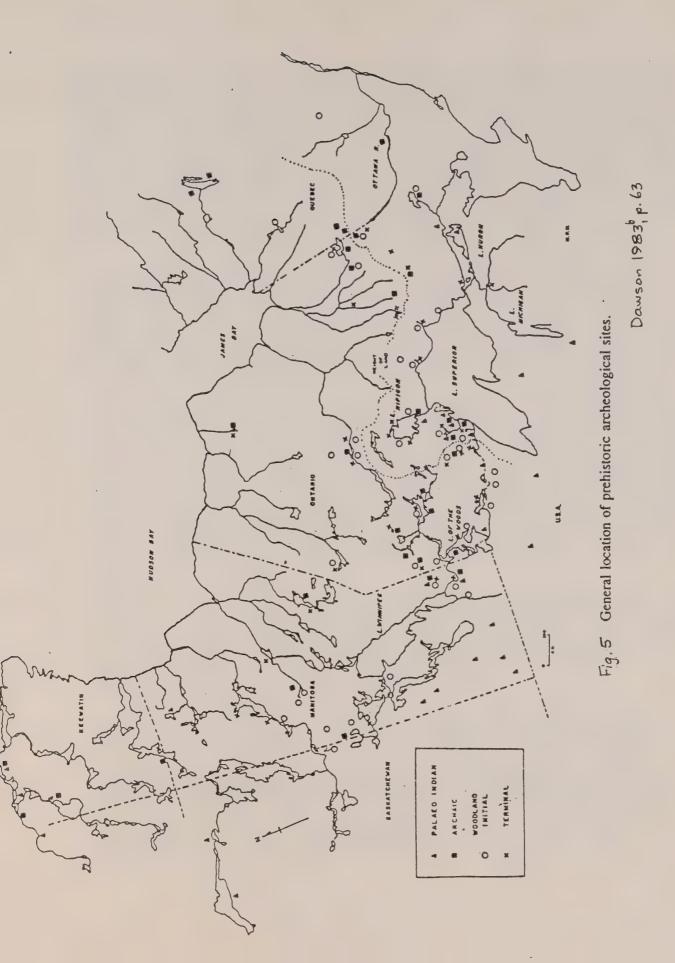


Fig. 4 Sequence of diagnostic artifacts.

Dawson 1983, p. 65





⁴ Because all the edible portions are consumed, an exclusively meat diet is nutritionally adequate.

^{5 &}lt;u>e.g.</u>, geese are only available in spring and fall and only of local weather has produced patches of open water where they can land ... if they want; fish are most accessible when they spawn in spring or fall; birches of a size suitable for canoe or tipi bark are only found in particular spots and must be stripped in the spring when the sap is rising.

⁶ in terms of the expenditure of time and energy.

⁷ Winterhalder, 1980, p. 44

The quest for food is the fundamental factor in determining the survival of any species and the way in which individuals and groups live. While the climate of the Boreal Forest does not preclude agriculture and animal husbandry, as the Hudson's Bay Company's post journals show, it certainly doesn't encourage such activities — particularly the cultivation of corn which was a dietary staple for peoples to the south. In the Boreal Forest, people lived with what the land provided. Aside from wild rice, found to the south and west in Northern Ontario, the most prevalent food resource is the meat of animals, fish and birds. The hides and pelts of animals also provide the material for clothing and in the course of foraging, most of the materials needed for shelter, tools and equipment can also be found.

Given: the "patchiness" of the environment; the relatively small size of the patches; the scattered distribution of patch-types; the seasonal variation in availability and/or accessibility of each different resource; the day-to-day and/or seasonal shift of some species within their particular patches or from patch to patch according to weather patterns; and the innate wariness of potential prey and their ability to observe, learn and avoid predators; it is no simple or easy job for a human to feed him- or herself, to say nothing of providing food for others as well.

Food must be sought daily by foraging from patch to patch, returning to a central camp each night or every two or three nights; moving the central place to gain access to a fresh set of patches within daily range or to take advantage of seasonal abundances of food resources. Rarely was there surplus food to store for times when the daily search might prove unfruitful or when weather, water levels, snow depth or condition prevented or impeded the daily search. Although meat and berries were preserved by drying, no significant store of food could be accumulated; for example, in the quantities necessary to last a group through winter and break-up. Food that could be preserved would be needed for travelling and for those who regularly foraged at a distance from the central camp.

Implicit in the mobility demanded by the environment is an orientation to the waterways which provide the most efficient and, in some eases the only, way in which to move through the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest. The waterways also provide three of the five environmental patch-types in which the main human food resources are found: aspen-birch forest; recent burn; lake margin vegetation; aquatic vegetation; and aquatic areas.

These five patch-types form approximately 28% of the total landscape, but since only a small part of aquatic areas are used for fishing, it is estimated that only 10% of the total landscape is used intensively for foraging. However, since this 10% is randomly scattered throughout the total, it is necessary to range over a very large area in order to continually encounter the productive parts. If other raw materials (such as copper or particular kinds of plants, barks, woods, stone and clay) necessary for medicine, shelter, tools and equipment are taken into account, the total area ranged by a group of foragers during the course of a year might increase beyond that necessary to supply just food and clothing.

- 8 Carver, p. 249
- 9 A large number in one place soon exhausts all the resources within reasonable range. Fur trade posts of any size that attempted to draw all their subsistence from local resources provide many examples this. The Fort William journals of the 1820's and '30's provide a good example of the effect of a large sedentary group not only on food resources each year the men had to travel further and further for suitable wood for buildings and canoes, for firewood, for canoe bark, etc. Appendix D illustrates the effect of a small group for a short period on available food resources.
- 10 "band" just means group and bears no relation to the legislated "Bands" created by the treaties.
- An indication of the importance of the food quest as well as being determined by it. Survival depended on an intimate knowledge of the area foraged and was acquired as a boy grew up. A man would be at a disadvantage if he changed locations.
 - Since clan membership was determined by birth not residence, it is unlikely the woman changed clans or totems at marriage although some elders today think she did.
- 12 Cameron, p. 3

The food quest dominated peoples' lives, occupying almost all of their time and providing the central meaning, purpose, motivation and goals of life as well as the criterion by which decisions are made and the standard by which all things are judged.

"They shew ... indifference for the productions of art. When any of these are shewn them, they say, "It is pretty, I like to look at it," but are not inquisitive about the construction of it, neither can they form proper conceptions of its use. But if you tell them of a person who is able to run with great agility, that is well skilled in hunting, can direct with unerring aim a gun, or bend with ease a bow, that can dextrously work a canoe, understands the art of war, is acquainted with the situation of a country, and can make his way without a guide, through an immense forest, subsisting during this on a small quantity of provisions, they are in raptures; they listen with great attention ... and bestow the highest commendations on the hero if it."8

A scattered resource base precludes not only sedentary groups of people, but also large groupings. For most of the year, people, like the resources, were scattered throughout the Boreal Forest in small bands of 20 to 50 individuals who formed an extended family - people related by blood and through marriage. As an example, such a band might consist of three brothers, their wives and children, their parents, their paternal grandmother and an unmarried sister. The potential permutations and combinations of relatives, ages and sexes is practically limitless.

A rudimentary system of totemic clans provided a means whereby actual and potential relationships could be determined and any specific obligations or restrictions attached to such relationships could be known and observed. A clan's totem or sign was some species of animal, fish or bird; e.g., Bear Clan, Sucker Clan, Loon Clan. The clans functioned as surnames do. Lineage was traced through the male line and a child was born into his or her father's clan. Residence after marriage was patrilocal — with the man's band' — thus a band represented a segment of a clan. Since all members of the same clan are related by blood, clans and, therefore, bands were exogamous: marriage partners had to come from another band. All the bands, then, were tied together by an intricate web of kinship, either through the female line or because they were of the same clan.

"All those that are of the same mark or Totem, consider themselves as relatives to each other, even if they, or their forefathers, had never had the least connection with one another, or had seen one another before; whenever two strangers meet, and find themselves to be of the same mark, each of them begins immediately to trace his Geneology, at which they even beat my Countrymen, the Highlanders, and the one becomes a Cousin, an Uncle, or a Grandfather to the other immediately, although the one that is styled "Grandfather" is often the youngest of the two: and it is not an uncommon thing to hear an indian speak of twelve Grandfathers, and as many Grandmothers:-" 12

Although the authors will not hazard a guess at numbers, the environment would dictate that there was a maximum size to a band and that a new band would splinter off when this maximum size was reached. Similarly, survival depended on a certain proportion of the band being "hunters" or those who

- 13 French < Micmac: apapish rawhide lacing made by cutting a hide in a spiral pattern.
- 14 This listing partially explains why archaeological pickings [pardon pun] in the North are slim: almost all items of material culture are biodegradable or of interest to scavengers.
- 15 The authors detected the existence of an "Ojibwa Work Ethic" during the course of the Fort Hope SEE Impact Study.

foraged at a distance. If some sort of disaster reduced this vital group within the band, the remnants might, through marriage ties, merge with another band. In this case, a band would represent two clans.

If a man died, it is likely that the welfare of the widow and children would become the responsibility of one of his brothers since the children were of the same clan. Thus two or more women and their respective sets of children might be found with one man. This led early writers to state that polygamy was practised. This was highly unlikely when resources were no more plentiful than they were in the Boreal Forest. The household composition had more to do with kinship ties than marriage practises.

A band was a tightly-knit economic unit, the combined manpower of which produced all the necessities for survival of each member. Conversely, it was only through the daily efforts and contributions of each member that the band survived. The individual needed the band for his or her survival just as much as the band needed each individual to ensure its survival. Individual and band were co-important and totally interdependent. A fact which, of course, strengthened the kinship bonds between individual band members.

There was little time during the course of a year for relaxation. There was no such thing as "recreation." Quite apart from the time involved in searching for, pursuing and capturing game and fish, there was the time involved in: hauling game home; skinning and cleaning it; stretching hides and pelts; scraping and tanning them; preparing food for daily consumption; drying meat and fish; rendering and storing fat; pounding dried meat for easier storage and mixture with stored fat; making baskets of birch bark; making mitts, mukluks, mocassins and clothing; making snowshoes, paddles, axehandles, sleds or toboggans, canoes, tikanagans, fish nets; gathering and erecting poles for tipis each time the band moved; covering the structure with birch bark; making axeheads, bows, projectile points for arrows and spears; building traps (fish as well as animal); gathering and pealing spruce roots for wattape (used for lacing pieces of bark); gathering and peeling the inner bark of willow for making string; feeding and training a team of dogs; making knives, axes and scrapers, clay pots, pipes; making babiche; gathering and drying "diaper" moss; gathering bark for kinnikinnik (tobacco); making rabbit skin blankets and clothes; gathering spruce gum for caulking joints in birch bark vessels; gathering and drying berries to mix with fat and dried meat; tapping birch for sap and making birch syrup and sugar; removing ribs from caribou and moose for knives; making mocassins of sturgeon skins; and the daily chores of maintaining the camp - firewood to gather and bring in; water to haul for drinking, cooking and washing; fresh spruce boughs to gather for the floor of the tipi; and the tending of babies, the elderly, the infirm ... you arose before dawn in order to greet the sun ... and then you: worked. You could not be lazy or you would not eat.

If fur trade records one occasionally finds a census table estimating the number of Indians who traded at a post. The population was classified as: men, women, youths, girls and children, with occasional reference to an "Old ". Aside from the sexual distinction, the classification appears to be roughly related to direct participation in the food quest. A specified elder

Probably because it took that long for people to learn their complete geneologies! Especially if the incoming clans of mothers had to be taken into account.

being someone who was no longer physically able to forage; men and women being the married adults upon whose shoulders the main foraging responsibilities fell; youth and girls being post-puberty but as yet unmarried who would perform the support tasks associated with both foraging and the household (such as hauling game, assisting with nets); and children being all the pre-puberty, pre-adult young. The latter should probably be subdivided into children, toddlers and infants — the last-named being immobile and requiring care; toddlers being those who were able to follow on foot if the pace was slow, but who still required a certain amount of care and supervision; and children being those who could get about on their own and begin to assume responsibilities of household or camp maintenance, including some of the care of toddlers and infants.

Generally, the married men foraged at a distance, sometimes singly, sometimes accompanied by a brother or wife or son or daughter once they had reached the older "youth/girl" stage. They went equipped to take advantage of any opportunity for food that they encountered. The married women and older "youths/girls" plus elders who were still able, foraged the area within a day's return journey of the camp: trapping, running snarelines, setting/checking nets and gathering plant foods and materials. The married women, assisted by all those who stayed in and around the camp, and were able, were also responsible for the "processing" of raw materials and most of the manufacturing of items needed - except for those articles or portions of articles involving wood work; and for the maintenance of the household and care of its youngest members.

The word "generally" is stressed. From birth, a child grew up watching, helping and doing all of the adult tasks that had to be done for survival. Everyone knew how everything was done and throughout their lifetime would likely be called upon to do most things. No job was the exclusive domain of any particular sex, age group or "class". Who did what all depended on who was available to do it at the time it had to be done.

When everyone knows all that is done and how, very few directions, if any, are needed - at most, something might be casually mentioned in passing. And when everyone, from the time they can walk, spends increasing amounts of their time contributing directly to the survival of the band, discipline rarely, if ever, is a part of the parent-child relationship.

In addition to the physical changes at puberty, youths and sometimes girls went on a Vision Quest before they were considered ready to marry. Apart from its spiritual purpose and meaning it was also a physical test of being left alone in an isolated spot, without food and only a cup for water. The vision sought was the individual's spiritual guide for his life. It did not always come the first time and the search was repeated until it did.

Marriages were arranged by parents and could certainly have been done before their children were old enough to marry. This was the parents' last official responsibility that had to be carried out for a child. One responsibility towards parents remained, however, for an eldest son. It is frequently recorded that when an elder reached an age or a state where they could no

¹⁷ The paths of some bands would, for example, intersect those of the woodland caribou and the ribs of caribou apparently made excellent knives.

longer contribute to the survival of the band and were, in fact, a hindrance to its survival, it was the elder's responsibility to request their eldest son's assistance in departing this life for the next. If the elder chose not to make the request, it was the eldest son's responsibility to abandon the elder on an island with a small amount of food and a miniature canoe and paddle - tokens, perhaps, that they weren't really being abandoned. A harsh measure, but logical and consistent in a harsh environment that demanded that survival be placed above all else and that everyone must contribute to survival.

Throughout most of the year, from fall to spring, the bands ranged across the land, each following its traditional paths, each moving strictly as dictated by the conditions it encountered and guided by the need for food. As soon as break-up was over and the waterways free to travel, their paths converged on the larger lakes to take advantage of the seasonal food abundance represented by the spawning fish at the lake's inlets. This is the only time of the year that large groups of people would be found in one place. Here they would stay throughout the summer, living largely from fishing, but still foraging for other resources in the area surrounding the lake. Many forays were made to the additional patch-type that was available at this time of the year: "people patches" - as represented by the other bands grouped around the lake. Forays to visit daughters, grandchildren and her kin, to arrange marriages, to exchange materials and items that another band may have acquired in their wanderings, but which had not been available in one's own.¹⁷

By mid-August, when the first leaves start to turn colour, the bands began to disperse toward their wintering grounds before freeze-up restricted travel. By late September they would all be gone. There would be one main stop prior to reaching the wintering point in order to take advantage of the spawning of whitefish and lake trout, the migrating flocks, partridge and the rutting season when moose hunting brought the highest return. But by freeze-up the bands would have to be at the point where they had left their winter equipment and where they'll leave their summer equipment. The necessity for mobility precludes accumulation of material goods. By now, the beaver have reached their prime for both food and fur.

Winter is the worst season, and legion are the tales of food scarcity, starvation and death. Beaver and rabbit form the main part of the diet, but if snows are frequent and deep, it is difficult to move even with snowshoes. The moose don't move and there are no tracks to indicate where they might be. Fish are still there in the lakes, but scarcely accessible when it is necessary to chop through 2' to 3' of ice before a net can be set or they can be jigged for with hook and line through a hole that immediately commences to freeze over. A sudden warming, freezing rain followed by just as sudden a drop in temperature is not uncommon, leaves even the trees bowed in submission and a crust on the snow that defeats snowshoes. In any winter, the balance between energy that it is necessary to expend in foraging and the energy that it is possible to gain swings dangerously into the red — in some winters, energy return can be nil for prolonged periods. Many are the winters documented in post journals when the very best hunters failed in their hunt ... or failed to return. On occasion, entire bands disappeared.

¹⁸ This outline of seasonal movements would, of course, vary for those bands living near the treeline whose summer abundance would be represented by migratory birds nesting along the coast.

¹⁹ Winterhalder, 1980, p.50

Many are the memories today of "starving in winter". It is not surprising that a person's age was calculated according to the number of winters they had survived.

Gradually the severe and seemingly interminable cold of January passes and towards the end of February the band can move again. The moose and other animals also start to move and beaver and rabbits can be foraged more readily.

Spring, when leaves and things start growing, signals the beginning of a new year, but it can still be a long wait before the snow disappears completely and the waterways are totally free of ice. (In May, winter usually has one last fling, often dishing out the worst blizzard of the year.) The bands move to places where running waters create the first opening of the waterways which is where the returning geese and other migratory birds may be found. In some cases, this is also where fish will spawn, but the end of break-up would most likely find the bands on the move to the larger lake for fish where "people patches" are also available. The

The annual movements of bands can best be represented by lines that follow the branch rivers and streams of watersheds - moving upstream in the fall like whitefish and lake trout, and downstream with all the rest of the water moving in that direction in the spring. Lines that would form a sort of deflated and irregular circle rather than lines which form circles or squares enclosing a "territory". Traditional routes [roots] might intersect at points in space (though not necessarily in time), rather than traditional "territories overlapping".

The shifting mosaic of patches caused by fires; hostilities with invading groups such as the Sioux from the plains; the abandonment of an area due to the disintegration or disappearance of a band; the ensuing assumption of the route at some later time by a splinter group — all would cause considerable shifting of traditional routes over a long time span. The links between the most recent archaeological remains that have been found, the peoples recorded historically and the people that live in the Boreal Forest today, are more assumed than established. The historical location of people will be discussed in the next chapter.

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Foraging in small bands is not enough to ensure survival in the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest ecosystem. The most important tool for survival that the forager has is him- or herself.

"The forager is adept ... at aging tracks, at noticing the broken bits of sedge at the mouth of a stream. ... The ... forager is always learning about climate, landscape and animal behaviour. Because the environment changes rapidly, in multiple ways, and with significant degrees of statistical unpredictability, [one of] the major adaptive skills of the human forager ... [is] observational sensitivity to the state of the ecosystem;" 19

- 20 Winterhalder, 1980, p. 47
- 21 Ibid., p. 45
- 22 Carver, pp. 241-2
- 23 Winterhalder stresses "observation" and "mobility" we understand what is signified by these words and certainly agree with the importance of what is signified but we don't quite feel they are the best choice of words. "Observation" has the connotation of passivity [as in "casual observation"] and is very much associated with visual perception exclusively. Visual perception for European cultures means focussing on an object and regarding it in isolation which is what a digital computer does with discrete bits of information (e.g., temperature readings taken at hourly intervals.)

Similarly, we feel "foraging", which means "to collect food by roving search", is more accurately what is demanded by the environment. "Mobility" is implicit in "foraging", whereas "mobility" by itself just means the potential for motion.

- 24 Carver, p. 242
- 25 In addition, prolonged chase of moose, for example, renders much of the meat inedible.

"Effective foraging requires that small dispersed patches be continually assessed for their potential resource value, that their locations be known, and that movement between them follow efficacious paths. Such knowledge is gained and maintained through extensive experience with a region of boreal landscape and with its history." $2\ensuremath{\mathcal{O}}$

"It takes considerable experience to acquire original familiarity with a hunting area: each hunting trip reappraises that information, as once favourable areas through succession become less attractive to game, and as fire or wind create new areas . . . observation . . . is a daily exercise over a lifetime." 24

It is interesting to compare Winterhalder's words (above, 1980) with those of Carver in 1778:

"The Indians discover an amazing sagacity, and acquire with the greatest readiness anything that depends upon the attention of mind. By experience and an acute observation, they attain many perfections to which Europeans are strangers.

... they are able to pursue with incredible facility the traces of man or beast, either on leaves or grass; ...

They are indebted for these talents not only to nature, but to an extraordinary command of the intellectual faculties, which can only be acquired by an unremitted attention, and by long experience." 22

In a kaleidoscoping world in which multiple variables are constantly changing in configuration, the boreal forager is comparable to an analog computer that continually monitors the change in many variables, continually calculating the changing relationships between them and, on the basis of the latter, continually modifies some operation. So does the forager modify his or her "operations": by continual attentiveness to multiple environmental variables; in conjunction with a store of personal knowledge; and guided by the omnipresent criterion of survival.

"They are in general very happy in a retentive memory; they can recapitulate every particular that has been treated of in council, and remember the exact time when these were held." 24

The forager must gain the greatest energy return for the amount of energy that must be expended in the pursuit and capture of his prey. He does not have the luxury of choosing what he prefers to eat because he does not have the option of returning empty-handed. For the same reason, he does not have the luxury of unlimited pursuit. He must operate efficiently — continually assessing which of many traces and tracks will lead to the successful capture of game. In the actual pursuit of a particular trace, he must continue to be attentive to multiple variables and be prepared to stop the pursuit and return to searching should some factor, for example the wind, suddenly change which in turn changes his chance for success.²⁵

Similarly, the pursuit and capture of one or two individuals in a particular patch alerts those remaining; the forager cannot afford the additional time and energy expenditure per unit that would be necessary for their capture. Daily survival demands that he leave the patch before depletion of the

resource occurs. Continuing survival demands that he leave particular patches fallow until the memory of his incursion fades from the minds of his prey or until some other set of circumstances increase his chances of success by making his prey less wary or less able to evade capture. Conservation is a by-product of the necessity to forage daily as is attentiveness and the corresponding development of a store of knowledge that forms an active part of consciousness. In order to survive, the forager must know: where specific patches are; the most efficient routes to them; their current state in terms of whether or not they have been recently exploited; and all the factors and combinations of factors that effect the behaviour of each species. This knowledge can only come from attentive personal experiencing.

The forager's habit of being attentive commences at birth. The tikinagan or cradleboard is an ingenious device for carrying an infant while keeping one's hands free and for keeping him or her secure and in view while one is fully occupied doing something else. It may be leaned securely between a rib and thwart of a canoe, against a tree or hung from a limb and the slightly curved bottom of the board allows the child to be gently rocked. Except in a canoe, when the child is in motion, he's always watching where he's been. He can be present at all activities. And in all cases, is in a vertical position as are all the other humans around him.

A child spent an estimated 6 hours a day in the tikinagan until he or she was about two years old. When not in the tikinagan, he was laced into a "pouch" which was the same as the tikinagan but not attached to a board. Laced firmly into a pouch with or without the board, he learned stillness, concentration — and to use his eyes and ears. Thus began his or her prodigious store of personal experience and knowledge and the habit of being attentive, both of which would become his or her main tool for survival. This also was the beginning of the way in which a child came to learn how everything was done. (See Appendix E for the relationship between watching and doing.)

Attentiveness requires that all the doors of perception are wide open at all times. It is what Marshall McLuhan called a "total field" approach to reality, proceeding from the general or overall, which is thoroughly familiar, to the particular which is moving, or has moved, "out of place"; studying the particular to discern its relationship to all else around it (including oneself and one's knowledge of interrelationships); then returning to the general which has now been revised by the particular.

Attentiveness to the "here-and-now" leads inevitably to the awareness that reality is a many-facetted, dynamic "wholeness" that one is <u>in</u> and a part of. The changing interrelationships between things, or the overall patterning of things, is central to determining the significance of particulars - things have no meaning if not seen in their context. They cannot be separated from their context because all things that exist are dynamically interrelated - there are no single causes, no single effects, no simple one-way cause-effect relationships - reality is a dazzling complexity of <u>interrelationships</u> and multiple interrelationships wherein each thing that exists is simultaneously cause and effect.

- 27 The Arapaho (an Algonkian group who moved from Minnesota to the plains prior to 1700) word for spider is also the word for expert, skillful or wise; it is also one of three words they used to refer to white men.
- 28 McLean, (pp. 254-5) refers to Cree as a "language of verbs" and states that the "...verb has seven conjugations, with a very elaborate display of moods and tenses, and a large number of different kinds of verb".
- 29 A person, like all animate things, is a verb, a "doing-thing". cf. R. Buckminster Fuller, I SEEM TO BE A VERB, Bantam Books, New York, 1970.
- 30 cf. electricity you can't see electricity, you can only see what it does.
- 31 Carver, p. 261

The boreal forager learns gradually and methodically to let his senses work for him discerning the minutest of changes in his world and to let his mind "mull things over" from all angles inside and out, tracing the intricate web of interdependency in which all things exist, until he perceives the pattern and, at the same time, the heart of the matter. ²⁷

As the child in the tikinagan learns the language he hears around him, he also learns a way of structuring his perceptions since the structure of a language reflects the way in which people perceive and understand their world. The languages of the Boreal Forest belong to the Algonkian linguistic family. As in English, a sentence expresses an interrelationship - unlike English, a sentence is a multiple compound word and begins with a verb. 20 "The quickly to the store," is running is "quickly-run-to-boy-store." ("Run-to" is one word.) Just as all aspects of an interrelationship are inseparable, so too are the attributes of objects: "biglake" rather than "big lake." One syllable attached to a verb denotes "the person that" without distinction between he or she - the listener knows from what "the person" is doing which specific person is being referred to, and knowing that, any verbal distinction between sexes is redundant. same syllable also means "him" or "her" when attached to a verb - again, it is the verb, the interaction that is going on that provides the clue as to whether the person is the subject or the object, the cause or the effect of the action. Causality does not underlie the structure of every sentence as it does in English and its related Indo-European languages. (Appendix F) "Quickly-run-to-boy-store" is only a word, not a sentence. The words that follow would elaborate all the other interrelationships perceived in the situation of which the boy running to the store was only a part.

The reality of life in the Boreal Forest is much more complicated than boys running to stores — there are interrelationships between interrelationships; all interconnections are in flux; and interrelationships aren't tangible in the same sense that a nice, discrete, self-contained thing or object is. On A dynamic reality can only be verbally expressed by means of symbols, similes, analogies and allegory. The stories, tales and speech of native people are:

"... adorned with images, comparisons, and strong metaphors, and ... equal in allegories to that of any of the eastern nations." [i.e., European] 31

The native people of the Boreal Forest were immutably rooted in a changing, timeless reality. Change was measured by the rising and setting of the sun, the cycles of the moon and seasons. Change is not separable from things that are changing. If no perceptual or linguistic separation is made between nouns and verbs, subjects and objects, the concept of time is impossible. Survival determines how and when you will behave, not the neatly-spaced, regular tick-ticks of a clock. If you want to know what the clock is doing, how far it has gone in its repetitious, continual counting and re-counting from 1 to 12, you ask: "How much time is it?" Not: "What time is it?" as if there were a precise, fixed point on a line of time, the whereabouts of which this external authority called a clock can tell you. And the only reason you ask how much time is if there is some interrelation-

ship between the clock's activities and your own - not because the clock's activities determine your own.

Numbers are a way of telling what things like clocks and scales are doing, just as in a game they tell what the players are doing. The can also tell how much of something is desired in exchange for something else. But otherwise, numbers had little place in the day-to-day lives of boreal foragers. You either had much food, a little food, or you were starving. According to Long in 1791, there were ways of saying numbers up to 1,000 -but the higher you went, the bigger the mouthful of syllables required; he indicates that ninety-nine in Chippeway was shangoss semmettenner asshea shangossway.

In the world of the boreal foragers, knowing, knowledge and truth consisted of and was confined to personal experience - primarily one's own, but also including that of others which they themselves have conveyed to you. Life in small scattered bands means that the knowledge received from others would usually be that of one's parents and one's father's parents - i.e. the accumulated collective experience of one's own band, enlarged as it would be by the experiences of other bands to which a band was tied by kinship.

Not only is knowledge relative to specific individuals and what their own senses and experiences have taught them, but in a dynamic, changing world, knowledge is constantly growing and is, therefore, relative to what has been experienced up this very instant — as you speak, all things continue to change. You may well encounter something tomorrow, or even notice something as you speak, that necessitates a revision in what you know. The people of the Boreal Forest, like all preliterate peoples, were conscious of the relativity of space and time long before Einstein brought it to the attention of the western world. (That knowledge is relative does not mean that it is not objective — the dichotomy between subjective and objective is an artificial division peculiar to western thought and stemming from the separation of things from what things do. Not only does this distinction not exist in reality, it is irrelevant when the focus is on interrelationships between things, not the things themselves.)³²

"If you and I were sitting in a circle of people ... and if I were then to place a painted drum or an eagle feather in the middle of this circle, each of us would perceive these objects differently. Our vision of them would vary according to our individual positions in the circle, each of which would be

Our personal perceptions of these objects would also depend upon much more than just the different positions from which we looked upon them. For example, one or more of us might suffer from color blindness, or from weak eyesight. Either of these two physical differences would influence our perceptions of the objects.

There are levels upon levels of perspectives we must consider when we try to understand our individual perceptions of things, or when we try to relate our own perceptions to those of our brothers and sisters. Every single one of our previous experiences in life will affect in some way the mental perspective from which we see the world around us.

³³ Storm, p. 4.

³⁴ Carver, p. 260

Because of this, a particular object or event may appear fearful to you at the same time that it gives pleasure to me, or appears completely uninteresting to a third person. All things that we perceive stimulate our individual imaginations in different ways, which in turn causes us to create our own unique interpretations of them. Love, hate, fear, confusion, happiness, envy, and all the other emotions we feel, act upon us to paint our perceptions of things in different colors.

If the thing I were to place within our circle should be an abstraction, such as an idea, a feeling, or a philosophy, our perceptions of it would then be even more complicated than if the object had been a tangible thing. And further, the number of different perceptions of it would become greater and greater as more and more people were added to our circle. The perception of any object, either tangible or abstract, is ultimately made a thousand times more complicated whenever it is viewed within the circle of an entire People as a whole." 33

There are many points of view. Each is unique and all are relevant. All are necessary for a complete picture; none are "more relevant" than others.

The uniqueness of each person, their experiences/knowledge and their point of view makes each person autonomous - self governing and self-responsible. It is not possible to tell another person what to do or what they should do. It is only possible for that person to determine that. Similarly, only they can speak for themselves - no one else can speak for them, just as no one can speak about anything with which they have had no experience.

Everything is interconnected. The individual members of a band form a "family circle" - each is interconnected to all the others by the web of kinship. That which governs or guides the band as a whole may be found within this circle by each person examining the topic at hand from their point of view, then placing their viewpoint in the centre. As each point of view is placed in the centre, it of course modifies all other points of view before and after it - it may be necessary to continue gathering changing points of view for many, many hours and days before the heart of the matter is finally discernible by all. When everyone has said everything they have to say from there own experience that is in any way connected to the matter, an elder or the eldest will articulate what is seen. Every person, from their own unique point of view sees and hears the same thing - which is the consensus and which is synergistic - the whole becomes greater than the sum of its parts. Each person goes forth governed by the internal authority of the exact same conclusion arrived at from the same accumulation of experiences in the centre. Though still being unique, completely autonomous and operating solely from their own points of view, the members of the circle will act in unison like a flock of birds or a school of fish - with no need for any further discussion or communication about the matter - ever.

"In their councils ... every affair of consequence is debated; and no enterprize of the least moment undertaken, unless it there meets ... general approbation seated in a circle on the ground, the eldest rises and makes a speech; when he has concluded, another gets up; and thus they all speak, if necessary, by turns." 34

"Among the Indians no visible form of government is

³⁵ Carver, pp. 258-9

^{36 &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 259

³⁷ Carver, p. 257

established; they allow of no such distinction as magistrate and subject, everyone appearing to enjoy an independence that cannot be controlled. The object of government among them is rather foreign than domestick, for their attention seems more to be employed in preserving such an union among the members of their tribe as will enable them to watch the motions of their enemies, and to act against them with concert and vigour, than to maintain interior order by any public regulations. If a scheme that appears to be of service to the community is proposed by the chief, everyone is at liberty to chuse whether he will assist in carrying it on; for they have no compulsory laws that lay them under any restrictions. If violence is committed, or blood is shed, the right of avenging these misdemeanours are left to the family of the injured; the chiefs assume neither the power of inflicting or moderating the punishment."35

"Each family has a right to appoint one of its chiefs to be an assistant to the principal chief ... [and to watch] over the interest of ... [the family], and without whose consent nothing of a public nature can be carried into execution. These are generally chosen for their ability in speaking ..." 36

It should be noted that Carver travelled among the peoples just to the south of Boreal Forest in Wisconsin and Minnesota as well as around Lake Superior. Their groups were larger than those to the north and were in more frequent contact with neighbouring groups, not all of whom were friendly. It is not likely that such a well-defined structure of chiefs and councils would of have existed further north. In any event, it is the interrelationships between individuals, groups and chiefs that should be noted in Carver's descriptions, as well as the fact that certain basic principles applied regardless of the size of the group and no matter how formally or informally the group was organized. In addition, the picture of groups to the immediate south will be of use to the reader in subsequent pages.

"Every band has a chief who is termed the Great Chief or the Chief Warrior; and who is chosen in consideration of his experience in war and of his approved valour, to direct their military operations, and to regulate all concerns belonging to that department. But this chief is not considered as the head of the state; besides the great warrior who is elected for his warlike qualifications, there is another who enjoys a pre-eminence as his hereditary right, and has the more immediate management of their civil affairs. This chief might with greater propriety be denominated the Sachem; whose assent is necessary in all conveyances and treaties, to which he affixes the mark of the tribe or nation.

Though these two are considered as the heads of the band, and the latter is usually denominated their king, yet the Indians are sensible of neither civil or military subordination." 37

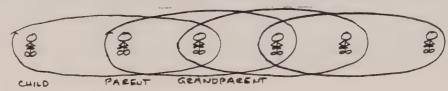
Individuals were autonomous: self-governing and self-responsible. The terms "head", "chief", "leader", etc. refer to a fixed, static postion in a hierarchy and are inappropriate. The central figure in a given situation changed as the situation changed, just as the leader in a wedge of geese drops back and is replaced by another individual at intervals during the migration of a flock.

Nothing is fixed or stationery (except the rock) in the Boreal Forest. Survival alone demands that a central figure, if needed, be the person best

qualified for the role. People, like all the other parts of the world, are of equal status, it's their "verb-ness" - what they know, what they are able to do and how well - that is important and that would, on occasion, be deferred to by common consent (which is a form of consensus) if a "central figure" was demanded by a situation.

"Every nation pays a great respect to old age. The advice of a father will seldom meet with any extraordinary attention from the young indians ... but they will tremble before a grandfather, and submit to his injunctions with the utmost alacrity. The words of the ancient part of their community are esteemed by the young as oracles. If they take ... any game that is reckoned by them uncommonly delicious, it is immediately presented to the oldest of their relations."

Deference to age is natural since personal experience is such an important factor in the lives of the people. An elder has demonstrated the merit of his or her skills and knowledge by their length of survival. But there is an additional reason that grandparents are held in very high regard. In the context of boreal lifeways, and what people do, parents and older children are more on an equal footing, equally participating to the best of their capabilities in the food quest and subsequent activities. Fathers are away from home and, less frequently, so are mothers and oldest children. Grandparents, who are home, become the central figures in the lives of children as they grow up; they are the ones who have the time to make toys, tell stories and begin showing the small child how to do things. Because much of the earliest "training" comes from grandparents, generations are tightly interlocked, as is the transmission of culture.



AS OPPOSED TO:



NOTE TO READER: The interpretation of "power", "medicine" and "manitou" that follows is that of Ms. Kleinfelder and is based on as many as possible contexts in which the words could be found to have been used. Mr. Yesno declines to agree or disagree without further mulling and personal research.

The Boreal Forager, like all other peoples living within or close to the natural environment, placed absolute reliance on his senses - seeing was believing. Only too aware that everything, either taken individually or in any combination, is dynamic, interrelationships were of first importance. He

³⁹ Fuller, p. 142

⁴⁰ Barnett, p. 64

⁴¹ The reader is reminded that light, sound, etc. is energy and that what our senses are sensing is this energy flow.

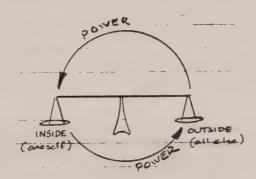
and everything else that existed was <u>a</u> centre of the universe, continually absorbing, transforming and radiating the forces or <u>power</u> of life through an infinity of skeins of action-reaction that connected each thing to every other thing directly and indirectly.

"... in this century ... scientists ... began to discover that when energy left one system [e.g., thing] it could only do so by joining another system. It did not go out of the universe. ... energies were always 100% accountable. ... Energy cannot be created, and energy cannot be lost." 39

"E=mc²" ... discloses some fundamental truths about physical reality. Prior to Relativity scientists had pictured the universe as a vessel containing two distinct elements, matter and energy - the former inert, tangible, and characterized by a property called mass, and the latter active, invisible, and without mass. But Einstein showed that mass and energy are equivalent: the property called mass is simply concentrated energy. In other words matter is energy and energyis matter..."

Which is why things are "doing-things" not just nouns; and why all "things", animate or inanimate, contain "power". Nothing is ever just itself, it has connections with many, many other things. The connections are life (that which animates everything) and making the connections is creativity. Everything is potentially a symbol for everything else. Because of connections, life itself is rich and vibrant - with no connections, it is poverty-stricken and dead.

Survival, and more important, survival in the right way, was a matter of continually balancing the simultaneous inward/outward flow of power which is continually being exchanged between things. All of one's unique set of experiences and knowledge, skills and abilities are the stuff of which a person's power is made and the means by which the power of the universe flows outward. This way of thinking and acting is perhaps better described as a Unified Field approach to reality.



"You have noticed that everything an Indian does is in a circle, and that is because the Power of the World always works in circles, and everything tries to be round. In the old days when we were a strong and happy people, all our power came to us from the sacred hoop of the nation, and so long as the hoop was

42 Black Elk, pp. 164-5

"You want to know why we always go from left to right like that. I can tell you something of the reason, but not all. Think of this: Is not the south the source of life, and does not the flowering stick truly come from there? And does not man advance from there toward the setting sun of his life? Then does he not approach the colder north where the white hairs are? And does he not then arrive, if he lives, at the source of light and understanding, which is the east? Then does he not return to where he began, to his second childhood, there to give back his life to all life, and his flesh to the earth whence it came? The more you think about this, the more meaning you will see in it." (Ibid., pp. 168-9)

unbroken, the people flourished. The flowering tree was the living center of the hoop, and the circle of the four quarters nourished it. The east gave peace and light, the south gave warmth, the west gave rain, and the north with its cold and mighty wind gave strength and endurance. This knowledge came to us from the outer world with our religion. Everything the Power of the World does is done in a circle. The sky is round, and I have heard that the earth is round like a ball, and so are all the stars. The wind, in its greatest power, whirls, Birds make their nests in circles, for theirs is the same religion as ours. The sun comes forth and goes down again in a circle. The moon does the same, and both are round. Even the seasons form a great circle in their changing, and always come back again to where they were. The life of a man is a circle from childhood to childhood, and so it is in everything where power moves. Our tepees were round like the nests of birds, and these were always set in a circle, the nation's hoop, a nest of many nests, where the Great Spirit meant for us to hatch our children."42

The term "indian-giver" is a derogatory term for someone who takes back a gift that had been given. The term apparently arose from the Indian custom of doing just that - gifts were not given, nor were they received; they were exchanged. If the exchange is not made within a certain time, a state of imbalance exists and the only way to re-establish the balance is to take the gift back. The value of what was given or received is irrelevant - it could be a knife for a canoe - but the exchange or "two-wayness" was relevant.

The power that flows through everything that exists is neither good nor bad, it just is. A person can influence only that power which flows through himself - he accepts whatever is given and works with it to the best of his abilities. The same creative forces that brought him into being will provide for the maintenance of that being as long as he works with them and not against them. Only he himself or another human agency can block or divert the flow of power and, conversely, unblock and re-channel it.

Any disturbance of the balancing creates dis-ease and medicine is required to restore the balancing. Medicine is that which contains power and therefore can be anything. However since the balancing goes on inside a thing or person, the remedy or particular medicine is relative to the particular person and particular occasion. A medicine-man or medicine-woman is a person who has displayed particular skill at balancing and at detecting or drawing out the source of imbalance in a diseased person and who has received and learned from their elders all the knowledge known about the medicinal properties of plants, etc.

"The Indians in general are healthy, and subject but to few diseases ... however the hardships and fatigues which they endure in hunting or war, the inclemency of the seasons to which they are continually exposed, but above all the extremes of hunger, and that voraciousness their long excursions consequently subject them to, cannot fail of impairing the constitution, and bringing on disorders.

Pains and weakness in the stomach and breast are sometimes the result of their long fasting, and consumptions of the excessive fatigue and violent exercises they expose themselves to from their infancy ... the disorder to which they are most subject, is the pleurisy; for the removal of which, they apply their grand remedy and preservative against the generality of their

- 43 Carver, pp. 389-93
- 44 "... the voice of the drum is an offering to the Spirit of the World. Its sound arouses the mind and makes men feel the mystery and power of things." (Black Elk, p. 168)
- 45 Black Elk, p. 176
- 46 Copway, p. 135
- Manitouwadge = manitou-den. The town was thus named because of a particular cave in the area which the Indians referred to as manitou-wadge this could be interpretted as having a number of meanings: the place might be connected with a particular person who was a manitou; it might be the place where a particular group sent their young to seek their manitou and where others of the group might return to re-establish their balancing if necessary; a den or cave is symbolic of being a manitou in that the balancing occurs within one's skull vault; or it may have been used generically to mean the sort of place where one can best achieve "manitou-ness" if there is power in a circle, how much more potent is the focussing power of a sphere?

complaints, sweating. [followed by a plunge into the nearest stream]

... They often make use of this ... to refresh themselves, or to prepare their minds for ... any business that requires uncommon deliberation and sagacity.

... As a remedy for [infrequent dropsy and paralytic complaints] as well as for fevers they make use of lotions and decoctions, composed of herbs, which the physicians know perfectly well how to compound and apply ...

... they exercise their art by principles which are founded on the knowledge of simples, and on experience which they acquire by an indefatigable attention to their operations."43

Descriptions of the arrival of a medicine-person at the lodge of a patient are reminiscent of the old "family doctor", who, before even enquiring about the patient, first conversed with family members and established how things were going between family members and with the family as a whole - a totally holistic approach and necessary in order to determine if the dis-ease had its source within the person or outside of them. If the former, the treatment would be holistic as well - involving not only some medicine, but also songs and drumming and also involving the whole family. If it was determined that the source of the dis-ease was someone outside the patient who was putting his or her powers to malevolent use, treatment would have to be extended to include the medicine-person's concentration of their own power to fend off the other's. "Evil" or bad was the misuse or uncontrolled use of a person's power to "jam the circuits" of the normal flow.

"It is from understanding that power comes; and the power in the ceremony was in understanding what it meant; for nothing can live well except in a manner that is suited to the way the sacred Power of the World lives and moves." 45

"Manitou" means "that which governs". (It does not correspond to the English word "spirit" as that word is commonly used today - the origin of the term "Gitche Manitou" will be presented in a subsequent section.) Amongst Indian people, that which governed was consensus - that which is in the centre, the "sitting-in-centre-of-web-spider"; Copway records that the symbol for manitou in Indian picture-writing was:



Manitou is the centre of the circle and the circle too: wholeness ("holi-ness"), the balancing of powers within a closed system. Since no closed systems are static, a manitou is a person or thing (e.g. drum) that is gifted with the ability, or power, to concentrate or focus (in the sense of direct or govern) the inward/outward flow of power to achieve understanding which comes through insight, a vision or a dream. The word also has connotations of being able to foretell the time or place of future events as well as their course, and the ability to direct this balanced, concentrated power outwards in order to bring about certain events.⁴⁷

There are too many eyewitness accounts by serious, rationale whitemen to scoff at this ability. They are, however, greatly outnumbered by derogatory descriptions which hinge on the words "paganism", "witchcraft", "superstitions", "primitive", etc. Some of the latter come from people who



themselves were ignorant and superstitious, some came from only limited experience with the people, but some came from direct observation. It is only too easy to see how such gifts could be abused — either used against others or used for personal gain. The potential for abuse of such awesome power easily gives rise to fear of such power in the hands of individuals or specific individuals. Fear makes possible the pretension of such powers for self-serving ends and this seems to have been quite prevalent among both large and small groups of people. Meanwhile, the good manitou and the beneficial use of medicine and power would likely have been rarely witnessed by a visitor or traveler.

In the light of the foregoing consideration of power, medicine and manitous, it is necessary to re-consider what is usually called the "Vision" or "Dream Quest." The person goes to some place free of distractions in order to await (or maintain a vigil) the understanding of his or her functioning in life the question that must be answered before one can fully function within the group isn't what or who he is, but rather what "doing-thing" he is in order to know of what circle he is the centre. The central figure in whatever dream or vision is experienced is the answer sought and becomes the person's name as well as a symbol for the whole dream and the person's functioning in life. What the central figure is doing in relation to other figures or things in the dream is the person's understanding of his own unique functioning within his group. It is only with the power that comes from this (the seeing of the interrelationships understanding interrelationships) that the young person can function as an adult, carrying their full share of responsibility for their own and the group's survival. Hence it is only after this quest for understanding that the individual is ready to marry. It should be noted too that in a small group, everyone is very aware and knowledgeable about everyone else and the young person is not sent on his/her dream quest until deemed ready or sufficiently mature to come to this understanding. In the event that the dream doesn't occur or it is not interpretted by the elders as being a clear understanding, then the person must wait and go again.

. . . .

The central and all-encompassing aspect of human lifeways in the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest was the environment itself. The authors again stress the generality of the presentation herein and the fact that for any particular group, there many be found any number of variations. But the overall pattern remains the same and was found throughout the Boreal Forest and southwards throughout the forests of the North Temperate Zone modified by the addition of basic agriculture and/or the exploitation of sea coast resources where available. The cultivation of corn, beans and squash bring about changes in the size of groups and the addition of planting and harvesting to the annual round of activities, but the people were by no means sedentary. In one important aspect all native peoples of North America were the same: the natural environment in which they lived was central to their lives and way of thinking. Fundamentally they all had the same view of themselves as a part of a dynamic universe.

⁴⁸ In 1958-59, the 229 villagers of Round Lake in northern Ontario exploited approximately 5,000 square miles, averaging a population density of one person for 22 square miles (Rogers, 1966, p. 99). [Landes, p. 4, fn]

⁴⁹ The words "distribution" and "sharing" imply one-way streets which miss the whole point of "two-wayness" which is so essential to understanding what is really occurring.

In the Boreal Forest, human lifeways were an adaptation to change and an annual see-sawing between feast and famine. The flexibility demanded by the environment provided resiliency - the ability to weather change without substantially being changed - the ability to survive. And survive the people and their culture have to the present day.

Flexibility was also their Achilles' Heel - their greatest weakness. Flexibility rested on certain rigid inflexibilities which made the boreal foragers incapable of accommodating, assimilating or adjusting to sudden, rapid or severe change, regardless of the form of change or the manner of its conveyance.

Amidst their changing environment, boreal foragers had certain fixed points of reference which gave them stability: a traditional area with which the individual and his/her band were and had been intimately acquainted and which was the source of the greatest tool for survival - individual and band knowledge based on personal and patient experience. [Within this environment there were certain fixed points of reference as well - waterways and prominent outcroppings of rock such as Echo Rock on Lake Nipigon.] "Home" in the sense of a familiar place where you feel most secure is a number of spots and patches linked by lakes and rivers. "Home" was a territory or area, a The land and way of successfully living from it created a disproportionate balance between people and geographic area46 - the area required to support a small group of people was far too large to even think of defending. If this homeland is intruded upon or in any way severely constricted or made inaccessible, the foragers are placed in a disadvantaged, dis-easy position, both internally and externally, mentally and physically. The intimate and detailed knowledge of a particular area is a form of specialization - tho' the focus is broad, it's still a focus. In another area a 100 miles away, the forager may feel generally at home, but he does not know exactly where the resources are that he needs, nor does he know the most efficient routes whereby to find them.

The second fixed point in the life of a boreal forager was his/her family or band - the only people that the forager could feel at home with, and that could be trusted because they were the only humans the individual thoroughly knew from his or her own experience. Because of the emphasis on the personal knowledge, in all other situations with people, there would always be a latent distrust which was easily exacerbated by the concept of power and its misuse whether real or perceived.

The weakening or severance of kinship ties and alliances with other bands can be devastating to both the individual and his group because individual and group are so inseparable from survival. Imbalances within people and the group as a whole can readily occur if one person has anything more than another. The interrelationships between people are more significant than the individuals themselves — what is usually perceived as "distribution" or "sharing" of game is rather an exchange of what one or two people captured today for what one or two others brought home yesterday. The point of exchange is that it is two-way, and its two-wayness can operate to the detriment of the group:

- 50 Boas & Powell, p. 110. It should be added that not only does the poorly off person expect something from the better off one, but the value is internalized and the latter expects this of himself the choice of not giving does not exist.
- Where there are larger groups of people, the potential exists for phatries to form—members of two clans see themselves as kin or brothers and sisters and each supplies marriage partners for the other, thus marriage partners come from the same group, share the same social & environmental background and have grown up with each other. If separated from the other groups, the band that is a phatry has the potential to survive as a group.

... The hungry Indian had but to ask to receive and this no matter how small the supply, or how dark the future prospect. It was not only his privilege to ask, it was his right to demand. Undoubtedly what was originally a right, conferred by kinship connections, ultimately assumed broader proportions, and finally passed into the exercise of an almost indiscriminate hospitality. By reason of this custom, the poor hunter was virtually placed upon equality with the expert one, the lazy with the industrious, the improvident with the more provident. Stories of Indian life abound with instances of individual families or parties being called upon by those less fortunate or provident to share their supplies.

The effect of such a system, admirable as it was in many particulars, practically placed a premium upon idleness. Under such communal rights and privileges a potent spur to industry and thrift is wanting." 50

Placing such a high premium on the group, also leads to "buffalo behaviour" completely closing off the outsider or outside influence. Rather than come to grips with the new or different and devising means to deal with it while at the same time preserving the integrity of the group, the group consolidates and moves away from the new either literally or figuratively. Spatial mobility acts as a detriment to the long range persistence of the group. Similarly, the individual can always seek refuge within the group and never have to come to grips with change.

Since bands are scattered and isolated from one another for approximately 80% of the year, they become very parochial or "mentally inbred" which again is an advantage in the boreal environment and relative to survival in a particular section of that environment. Knowledge of happenings elsewhere comes primarily during the summer when bands are gathered on large lakes. In some cases a "news item" may have been relayed two or three times before it reaches a listener. Each time, it is absorbed into the listener's own narrow frame of reference which may not be anything like the context in which the "news" occurred. Thus a misunderstanding becomes incorporated as another fact into a band's body of knowledge, even tho' it is not of equal reliability to knowledge gained from direct experience - it is rather in the nature of hearsay unfounded on personal experience and can evolve into superstition if passed from generation to generation. Altho' the "moccasin telegraph" seemingly operates with the speed of light, it doesn't always work with the greatest of accuracy.

From a strictly biological point of view, the annual rendezvous are the means by which the band keeps from being physically inbred. The arrangement of marriages is very, very important because a marriage means an outsider is to be incorporated into the group, and it must be ensured that this will not cause disruption or imbalance in any way. If a band is, for some reason, cut off from all other bands, it is doomed to extinction - it cannot perpetuate itself since marriage partners must come from outside. If it is cut off from bands it knows, marriages cannot be arranged with any degree of certainty that they will not prove disruptive to the group as a whole. 51

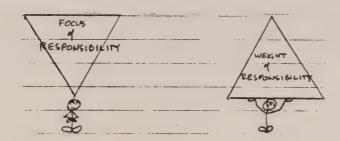
The third fixed point lay within individuals themselves: their own knowledge and skills which contributed to the survival of the group that in turn ensured their survival. Herein lay the forager's greatest vulnerability.



Individual and group were so intertwined and interdependent that they are almost synonymous terms. Anything at all that threatens, or actually does, severe the ties between an individual and his/her group, is a threat to each and every other individual. Despite the complete autonomy of the individual, the total reliance on knowledge born of personal experience, and the awareness of the uniqueness of all things, no expression of individuality or difference could be tolerated. "Acting on one's own" was a severe offence. The individual was not in the least free and potentially could contain a great deal of suppressed individuality in the form of frustrations and hostilities.

Self-responsibility included responsibility for the group and necessitated absolute self-control, which meant that all laws were unwritten and internalized. Being responsible for oneself was thoroughly inculcated in a person as they grew up - through living examples, stories and being told and shown the right way. Dependence on the group meant that any kind of separation from it was enough of a threat to suppress individuality - silent disapproval or public censure by means of gossip, both of which represent isolation from the group without actually being isolated, were the only types of external control of individual behaviour that were necessary. [And the only forms of external control that developed culturally.]

Life for the individual was a very precarious balancing, not only between himself and the natural world, but also between himself and the other members of his band. Ultimately, the responsibility for survival in the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest focussed on each individual and could be easily disturbed.



The foregoing inflexibilities as well as an all-pervasive cultural rigidity perhaps stemmed from an overstressing of <u>single here-now interrelationships</u>. This imbalance seems to have led to:

- (i) acceptance with no further proof if a person said they had power to do something, that seemed to have been enough for everyone to treat the person as if they did; the fear of power seems to have been overpowering;
- (ii) not inquiring beyond or deeper than what met the eye or ear;
- (iii) seeing only the immediate consequence of something and an inability to see a chain of consequences;

Which, though adequate in relatively simple situations where time is not a factor, is woefully inadequate in more complex situations or where a quick decision is critical; note that the only quick way to reach a decision is found in the process of dreaming where a sensitive individual could reach an understanding relatively quickly and whose understanding would be heeded by the whole group; otherwise, because of individual antonomy, no delegation of authority is possible.

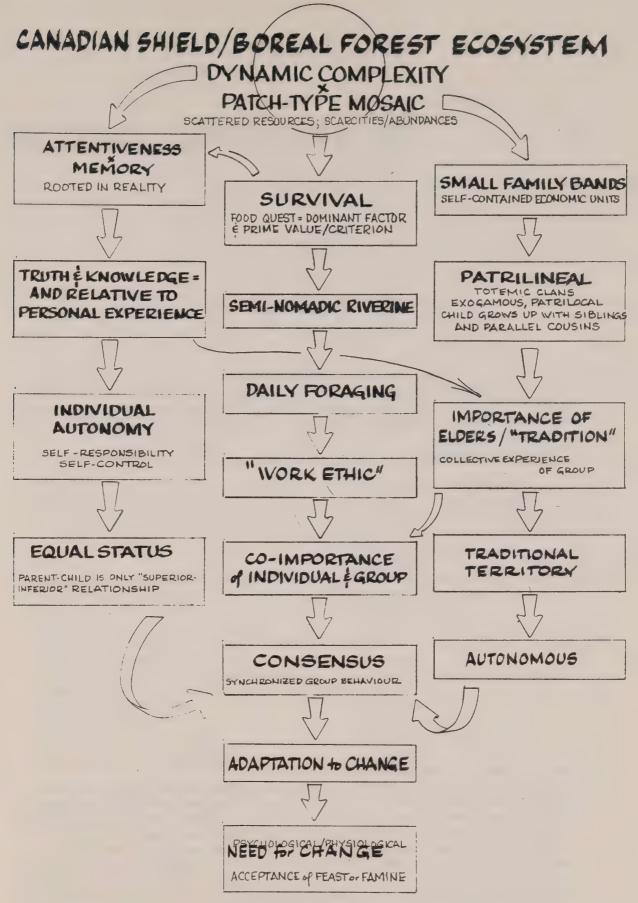
⁵³ The Logic of the Equilateral Triangle - see Appendix H

⁵⁴ Note that "inability" refers to a cultural inability.

- (iv) an undervaluing of things in the concentration on interrelationships and the consequent inability to see indirect but also relevant interrelationships;
- (v) an inability to consider the future beyond the next season;
- (vi) continual fluctuation from one point of view to another without "coming to rest" or "taking a stand" until the potentially very lengthy process of determining the consensus (either within an individual or amongst individuals) had been gone through;⁵²
- (vii) the inability to see the whole without tracing the entire picture dot by dot after which the centre can be seen; which is an inability to perceive common principles from which to generalize or categorize the heart of the matter can be reached in this manner, but not an abstraction of the essence;
- (viii) an underdeveloped critical faculty i.e., the inability to discriminate because all things and statements are equally valid and true;
 - (ix) a peculiar logic whereby two separate interrelationships tied together by a single agency establishes a second agency as being the cause of something that happens to a third agency with no reference to temporal sequence of the three interrelationships;⁵³ and
 - (x) acceptance of change as the norm and a continual seeking of interrelationships between "doing-things"; since this is reflected in linguistic structure, the language itself creates an inherent restlessness just as English, with its "something doing something to something else" pattern is inherently aggressive.

Certainly most if not all of the rigidities or inflexibilities that have been mentioned are traceable to the exigencies of survival in the Boreal Forest and can be seen as adaptations to that environment. However they hinder, if not prevent, adaptation when that environment changes.⁵⁴





- 1 as the founders of the Hudson's Bay Company called themselves in the charter of 1670
- 2 Some of the eastern Indians who first encountered the newcomers simply referred to them by a word in their own languages which meant "somebody coming". Others used a word that just meant white skin or white face. Many of the Indian words derived from the initial trade goods and meant "makers or bringers of: iron or axes/hatchets or knives or blankets/cloth." In the Boreal Forest, three words seem to have been used, distinguishing between French, English and Americans and traceable to earliest contact elsewhere: wemitigoshi people of the wooden canoes (French) which is the commonly used word today to signify "whiteman"; kechimokoman big knives or long knives (Americans) referring to the swords of British soldiers in the thirteen colonies and later the swords of the American cavalry; and saganash (English) which etymologically is related to sagan (to scare) and saga (mosquito and thus tied visually to the sudden thrusting of/piercing by swords. [And perhaps conceptually to pesky persistence].

PEOPLE SOUTH OF 50°

With the exception of the "Governours and Adventurers trading to Hudsons baye", people from the "Old World" came (and continue to come) into the Boreal Forest from the south. They were, and are, the carriers of a culture that is diametrically opposed to that of the boreal foragers:

BOREAL FORAGERS

"THE ONES WHO CAME" 2

- rooted in reality
- dynamic verbs primary
- holistic or "total field" perception and understanding
- relative
- spoken word, "oral tradition"
- individual autonomy
- consensus
- equal status, central figure
- non-lineal; multiple, simultaneous interrelationships
- living is learning (inseparable)
- nomadic
- small groups of kin
- extended family
- tradition (spoken word)
- sufficiency of daily needs
- continuation in perpetuity
- continually changing present
- each thing is the measure (centre) of all other things

- abstracted from reality
- static nouns primary
- analytical, focussed to exclusion of context, particularization or specialization
- absolute
- written word, "written tradition"
- outside authority
- majority rule
- hierarchy, caput or head figure
- lineal, cause-effect: action or reaction
- living and learning (separable)
- sedentary
- urban masses
- nuclear family
- history (written word)
- surplus as much as possible beyond what is needed for today
- depletion & extinction
- past-present-future: time is a line
- man is the measure of all things
 (hierarchy with man at top)

When older Indians today say that the difference between the Indian and the whiteman is that the former were given to earn their living by hunting and gathering and the latter were given to make their livelihood by tilling the soil, they strike right to the heart of the matter. All of the contrasting and opposed elements of the culture of "those who came" are either derived



from or are associated with a way of life based on the domestication of plants and animals.

The instant a seed is placed in the ground, a dot is placed on a map; a fixed, external point is established. Simultaneously, a shift in orientation from present to future occurs - today's activities are for future needs, not today's needs. Ultimately the fixed point becomes both a fixed point of view and an external point of reference. The relative yields to the absolute and land becomes a commodity to be parcelled and traded, bought or sold.

The production of a surplus and storable food supply allows the development of larger and sedentary groups of people, not all of whom need to be directly engaged in the production of the basic necessities for survival. Some are able to specialize, spending their time as warriors, priests, metalsmiths, etc., and exchanging their goods and services for the surplus food and other basics produced by others. As specialized goods and services develop and become relied upon, both surpluses and the future assume increasing importance for survival.

Groups of people also become specialists depending on their locale and available resources. As surplus goods and commodities come to be exchanged between groups, vast webs of trade and commerce are spun, at the centres of which cities develop where everyone is engaged in exchange or manufacture and no one is engaged in the direct production of food and raw materials which, as always, goes on in the hinterlands.

The development and expansion of trade and commerce gives impetus to the development of both mathematics and writing. Numbers disregard uniqueness and stress quantities and the quantifiable. The written word separates words from the speakers of words. Both numeric and alphabetic symbols take on a reality and importance for their users which eventually supercede the reality being symbolized.

A sendentary lifeway and the possibility of accumulating material goods, involves the concomitant development of defensive arrangements which, along with the differentiation of individuals and families made possible by the accumulation of material goods, appears to be the prerequisite for the hierarchical structuring of a society. People no longer do more or less the same things, nor do they wear similar clothing, live in similar dwellings, etc. The hierarchical structure and the growth of populations beyond the limits whereby interrelationships between people can be governed by kinship roles, lead to increasing external rules and regulations governing people's lives.

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The foregoing appears to the authors at present to be the key aspects in the development of western civilization. It should be noted that the domestication of plants and animals does not necessarily lead to all the elements manifested in western culture either historically or today. The direction the changes take all depend on the people and their culture who commence the domestication. However, one step follows another and each pre-

supposes many previous steps and events. It is only in the last few years of the rapid spread of western culture around the globe since World War II with its concommitant disruption of indigenous cultures, that the question has been raised whether or not it is possible for other cultures to skip key intervening steps and leap into the western world's 20th century.

- 1 In northern Minnesota where incipient agricultural activities occurred, the land was tilled, the corn planted, then the gardens left until is was time to harvest the crop, after which bands departed for their wintering grounds. (See Densmore)
- 2 Neither history nor prehistory can be sorted out without one eye on a map.
- 3 The term Algonkian derives from a small group of people the French encountered to the north of the Ottawa River who called themselves Algonkin. The similarity of language all along the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence watershed led the French to refer to all the people as Algonkins. The name of one became a generic term for all, and later when it was found that all the distinct languages within the area indicated came from the same parent stock, the term Algonkian was extended to include all such languages and their speakers. Algonkin then reverted back to referring specifically to that group of Algonkians or Algonkian-speakers from which the term derived.

"SOMEBODY COMING"



eavers, Bullets, Bibles, Bugs, Booze, Bucks and Bureaucrats

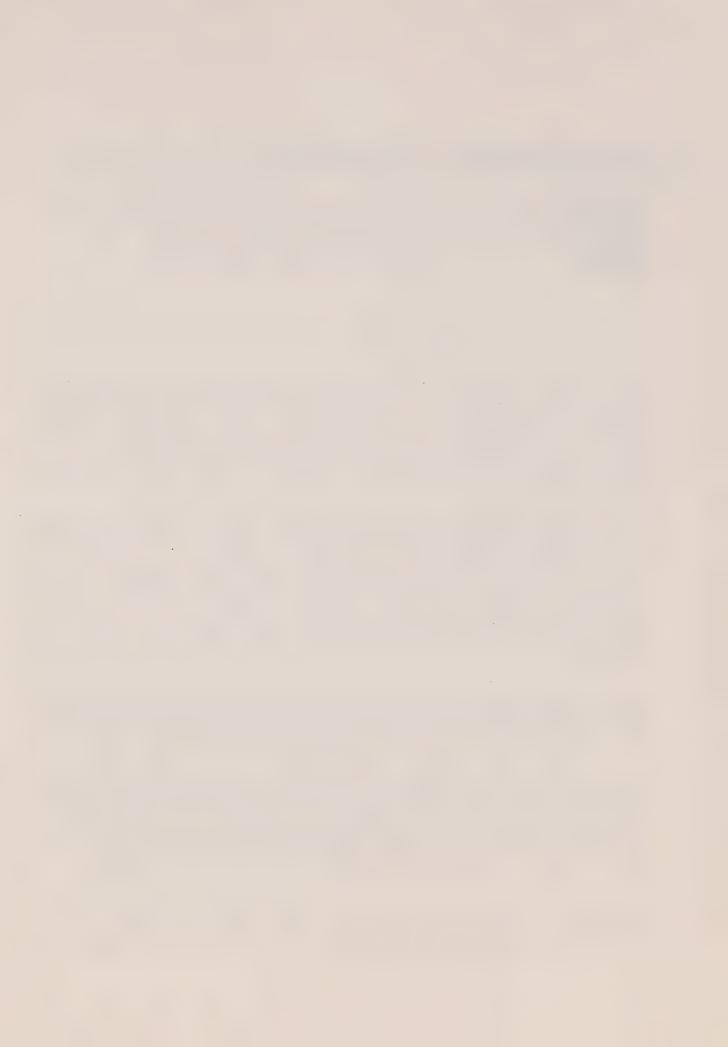
There has been no need to attach labels to the boreal foragers since the lifeway or way people lived is essentially the same throughout the Boreal Forest. We would repeat that in Ontario on the northern and southern fringes, or transitional zones, two additional patch-types are available - coastal areas + wild rice and/or potential agricultural products. However, these bring about relatively minor changes to the round of seasonal activities.¹

The only major difference that existed between boreal foragers and by which they were distinguishable from one another, was language; and the environment was responsible for this too. The people were oriented in every way to the lakes and rivers and the maximum chances of survival were contingent upon an intimate acquaintance with a "home territory". Watersheds, therefore, tended to produce a natural separation of people for most of the year and the interlinking of minor watersheds into the watersheds of main rivers or kitchesebee provided the means whereby they came together for part of the year as well as the means of contact between the larger summering groups of people.²

Figure 6A shows the distribution of the major linguistic groups of people throughout North America and the general correspondence between languages and river systems. Except for the far western portion of the Boreal Forest, the boreal foragers are of the Algonkian linguistic stock.³

Figure 6 shows how the Boreal Forest spreads across two major watersheds: the Hudson Bay drainage system and the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system. Lakes Winnipeg, Winnipegosis and Manitoba and the upper Great Lakes are focal points in each watershed, and the Boreal Forest borders both Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior. Each of these two groupings of large lakes appear to be the centres of the two distinct languages found in the Boreal Forest of Ontario: Cree and Ojibwa.

Watersheds and ecosystems are by no means boundaries that cannot be crossed. Cree-speaking people are referred to as either Plains Cree, Woods Cree or Swampy Cree. With reference to Figure 6 it is readily seen that the Boreal Forest and Hudson Bay watershed provide (a) a central forest environment (b)





Eg. 6A - Distribution of Major Linguistic Families
[After Underhill]



Flg. 6A - Distribution of Major Linguistic Families
[After Underhill]



Fig. 6 - Major Watersheds



access to the plains and (c) the potential for dwelling along the treeline with access to the additional coastal patch-type as well as the option to move or travel deeper into the interior of the Boreal Forest.

With continuing reference to Figure 6, it is also readily seen that particularly Lake Superior, but also the northern portions of Lakes Michigan and Huron, provide both a transitional environment between the Boreal Forest and Temperate Zones and access to the Boreal Forest. It is this area where the greatest concentration of Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Algonkian-speaking peoples were found c. 1600 and whence the source of the term "Ojibwa" as applied to a distinct branch of the Algonquian languages came. It should be noted though, that the French learned to speak the language from Algonkians on the lower St. Lawrence and were able to converse with the Algonkian people all along the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system. Communication problems seemed to have steadily arisen the further west the Europeans moved and the closer they came to Lake Winnipeg."

Although the word "Cree" is derived from the French "Kristinaux" or "Kilistinons", it is quite apparent from the records of the 17th century that they were not making any linguistic distinction at all between people of the Boreal Forest. After all, it was necessary to go inland first and meet the people before such a distinction could be made. It wasn't until the early part of the next century that this happened. Since the people found along the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence route were well known by this time and all spoke dialects of the same language, it is not surprising that the inlanders who spoke a different language ended up with the label "Kristinaux" or "Cree".

Again consulting Figure 6, it can be seen that potentially there could be considerable intermixing of Cree-speakers and Ojibwa-speakers because of the river systems. This is especially true in three areas:

- (a) the Moose and associated rivers the treeline is close to the coast and the waterways are so situated that considerable traffic to and from the interior of the Boreal Forest is possible from many directions including the Albany system;⁷
- (b) the Winnipeg and English Rivers systems provide a direct tie between the northern part of Lake of the Woods and the southern part of Lake Winnipeg; and
- (c) the complex of lakes which form the headwaters of the Severn River (Big Trout, Muskrat Dam, Weagamow and Sandy) and which are adjacent to a similar complex which form the headwaters of the Gods and Hayes Rivers systems (Sachigo, Island and Gods) which in turn are adjacent to and connect with the Nelson River and the northern part of Lake Winnipeg.⁸

However, in general, Ojibwa-speakers seem to have left the northern fringes of the Boreal Forest to the Cree-speakers and the latter left the southern fringes (in Ontario and Quebec) to the former. Similarly, Lakes Superior and Winnipeg provided two focal areas so that the two languages, though stemming from a common source originally, became quite separate and mutually unintelligible - speakers of "pure" Cree and Ojibwa cannot understand one another.

- 9 In connection with specific names, it is interesting to note that the myriad of such that appear in early records refer to either the totem of a group or to a lake or river which was the group's summering place; e.g., Eabamet-place-people and is what the people of Fort Hope call themselves.
- 10 We use the word "expand", not migrate because the latter implies a large body of people moving within a short period of time and this does not appear to be the case with the Iroquoian-speakers.

Hence the Tuscarora in North Carolina, the Neutrals along the northern shores of Lake Erie, etc. The Tobacco "Nation" or Petun as the French called them were a third group in Ontario altho' it does not seem to be known when they came there.

It has been mentioned that the Cree are sometimes distinguished as being either "Plains", "Woods" or "Swampy". Many distinctions also exist between Ojibwa-speakers, but on a more specific basis, though all related to the Upper Great Lakes-St. Lawrence (via the French River - Lake Nipissing - Ottawa River) system. As the French pushed further and further up this system, the distinctions between people became increasingly refined and the labels more precise. Thus, included in the term "Ojibwa" are:

- (i) the Ottawas a term deriving from adawe which means to trade and which the French at first seem to have used generically to refer to those who came from the upper Great Lakes each year to trade along the lower St. Lawrence; but which eventually became attached to a specific group who, according to their own traditions and the earliest written records, lived on Manitoulin Island and the north and south shores of Georgian Bay;
- (ii) the <u>Saulteurs</u> or <u>Saulteaux</u> the peoples the French found residing around the rapids at Sault Ste. Marie;
- (iii) the <u>Mississauga</u> the peoples living on the north shore of Lake Huron across from Manitoulin Island; specifically along the river of that name;
- (iv) the <u>Pottawatami</u> people first recorded as being on the islands of Green Bay, Lake Michigan but who also seem to have been on the southern side of the Ste. Maries River and who formed a loose confederacy with the Ottawa and Chippewa the traditions of all three speak of a common origin;
- (v) the Chippewa or Ojibwa (from achipoe and outchibous) the origin of the term seems to have been applied to a specific group on the south shore of Lake Superior who were related to all the other specific groups with specific names on the lake; in historic times, events led to the merging or closer association of the groups and they became known just as Chippewa or Ojibwa (frequently with a "y" tacked on the end); during the 1700's "Chippewa" was in vogue and "Ojibwa" began to emerge in the 1800's in the United States the former has been retained while in Canada the latter is used (in both cases by native as well as white).

There are many more specific terms by which specific groups of Indians referred to themselves and still do to this day, however the foregoing are connected with events shortly to be related and are sufficient to show the role that watersheds played in the interrelationships between native people. All of the aforementioned groups could converse with one another as well as with all the other Algonkian groups along the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence drainage basin. Each band or group spoke its own dialect or variation of the language due to the fact of separation throughout most of the year.

It will be noticed on Figure 6A that another linguistic group lived along the lower Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River. The Iroquoian-speakers figure much more in the history and prehistory of North America than is generally appreciated. They appear to have expanded northeastward through the Ohio and related river valley ca. 1000 A.D., wedging their way through Algonkian-

- 11 "See Hale, pp. 11-17
- 12 Most sources of information also say that the soil was depleted; yet it is known that corn was planted with fish for fertilizer.

Agriculture also seems to have been the source of two other prominent characteristics of Iroquoian peoples. Primary responsibility for producing the basic food supply fell to women. Descent was matrilineal and the women were also responsible for selecting the chiefs.

Although agriculture provides a more secure food supply, it does tie people to one place - where the fields are - and gives rise to the necessity of defending that place. As with the beaver, people who become sedentary also become susceptible to attack by others. Thus while Iroquoian men were hunters as elsewhere, more importantly, they were warriors.

The necessity for a warrior "class" for defense almost inevitably leads to offensive activities. This certainly seems to have been the case with the Iroquoian people. Continuing warfare, whether defensive or offensive, leads to a steady loss of individuals from the group which could produce cultural instability or discontinuity. However the prominent role of women in the culture seems to have been a factor guarding against such instability. In addition, the depletion of the population as a whole was compensated for by the adoption of prisoners who took the place of slain warriors and by the wholesale incorporation of other groups of people within Iroquoian confederacies.

Wendat apparently means "islanders" and perhaps indicates that they came from an island, perhaps Montreal Island. Between 1450 and about 1609, they were joined by five other Iroquoian groups and one Algonkian group, all it seems from the same general area around the junction of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers. All eight groups formed the Wendat confederacy. In 1649-50 when the confederacy was dispersed by the Five Nations, the two Iroquoian groups which had most recently joined the Wendat confederacy, returned to the Five Nations.

The Wendat peoples are those commonly referred to as "Hurons", but we prefer not to use the term since it obscures their origin and relationship to those people south of Lake Ontario and it also obscures their connection with the remnants of the confederacy after 1650 who became known by the term "Wyandotte" which, of course, comes from "Wendat".

speakers on both sides of the lower Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River. These were the people Cartier found at Stadacona (Quebec) and Hochelaga (Montreal) in 1534 and '35. 11

Several things seem to have occurred during the course of the expansion of the Iroquoian peoples:

- (i) the expansion took place over many generations although there may have been sudden "spurts" of movement, by and large it was a process that went on over three or four centuries;
- (ii) only some of the expanding population moved on, others remained behind:
- (iii) splits in direction of expansion occurred, some of the moving people went one way, the rest another;
 - (iv) the original inhabitants of areas into which expansion occurred did not evaporate although their distinctive culture may have disappeared:
 - ... some were killed through warfare;
 - ... some fled to and eventually became merged with other groups with which they were allied;
 - ... some fled to abandoned areas where they continued their cultural practices, but these (practices) eventually disappeared since they were not sustained by the greater cultural body from which they sprang and since they were modified by a new environment and its demands;
 - ... some became incorporated into the expanding population.

The Iroquoian peoples were agriculturalists and established permanent villages around which were planted the Three Sisters: corn, beans and squash. Their annual pattern of activity was the reverse of that found in the Boreal Forest: a diet based on storable food enabled them to winter in their villages. The period between planting and harvesting was the time for moving across the land.

A stable and plentiful supply of basic foodstuffs permits larger groupings of people which in turn leads to the development of a more complex culture and also to the depletion of firewood and wildlife resources within a reasonable range of a village. Iroquoian villages were relocated every 10 to 30 years. 12

Around 1450, some sort of major split occurred amongst the northernmost group of Iroquoian-speakers: the Canienga or Mohawk as they came to be referred to by others. Two groups of these people moved to the shores of Georgian Bay and referred to themselves as Wendat people. Eventually they became a confederacy of eight distinct groups of people located between Lake Simcoe and Nottawasaga and Matchedash Bays. The Wendat Confederacy were the sworn enemies of the Iroquoians south of Lake Ontario, particularly the Mohawk, but maintained close alliances with both their Iroquoian (Tobacco) and Algonkian neighbours. The former are often included in either the term "Huron" or "Wendat"; the Nipissings apparently wintered in or amongst Wendat villages and the peoples of Manitoulin Island, the north shore of Lake Huron, Ste. Marie's River and southeast shore of Lake Superior were all engaged in trade with and assistance to each other and the Wendat peoples.

The Five Nations were also referred to simply as "the Iroquois" and sometimes as "the Mohawk" who seem to have been the most warlike of the five groups. The people of the confederacy referred to themselves as the "People of the Longhouse". The almost legendary confederacy was formed by the efforts of two individuals: Hiawatha and Dekanawidah. [Hiawatha became a "legendary" Ojibwa figure due to confusion on the part of Longfellow.] The Five Nations became Six ca. 1715 when the Tuscarora left North Carolina under pressure of white settlement and rejoined the main remaining body of Iroquoian-speakers.

At about the same time (1450), the Iroquoian groups south of Lake Ontario (Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas) united in the famous confederacy known as the "League of Five Nations" (or just "Five Nations") the aim of which was Peace - amongst themselves and between themselves and surrounding Algonkian peoples. One of the first things the Five Nations did after formation of the confederacy was to establish a peace alliance with the Algonkian peoples of Lake Superior, which was to last for two hundred years. However, warfare with all other surrounding Algonkian peoples seems to have been the norm.

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A vast network of trade in commodities and hand-manufactured items crisscrossed the entire North American continent and appears to have existed on two levels: trading parties from one group would travel amongst others for the purpose of exchange and every summer there were specific spots (such as Tadoussac, the southern shore of James Bay) where trading parties from great distances met to exchange goods at annual fairs which lasted two or three days. Although such transactions are labelled "trade", it should be kept in mind that much more than a mere commercial transaction was involved - alliances were established and maintained by the exchange of goods or gifts.

Although agricultural products and hides/pelts were the basic items exchanged and the latter seems to have been a common currency, medicines, songs and dances were also exchanged between peoples. Knowledge, techniques, news and later, European diseases, were also transmitted along the trade networks. Between the Great Lakes peoples and those of the Boreal Forst to the north, the early European records specifically mention the exchange of corn, tobacco, sunflower oil and nets for furs, fish and arrowheads.

The "somebodies" who came, then, from Europe, did not initiate the "fur trade", but rather stepped into and participated in a well-established system of exchange along well-established routes. The "inlanders" of the Boreal Forest no doubt heard about these people and were using their goods long before they actually saw any of the newcomers themselves. For about a century before the official voyages of exploration from Europe, Portuguese, Spanish and Basque fishermen were fishing the Grand Banks and engaging in trade with peoples of the Maritimes and Gulf of St. Lawrence. Official recorded history begins with Cartier in 1534 and, from the point of view of changes in the lives of native people of Ontario's Boreal Forest can be divided into five main periods:

- (i) the French period from 1534 to <u>ca.</u> 1775 including the fall of Quebec and the America Revolution;
- (ii) the English period from ca. 1775 to ca. 1867 and the creation of the Dominion of Canada.
- (iii) the post-Confederation period from <u>ca</u>. 1867 to <u>ca</u>. 1919 and the end of WWI;
- (iv) the post-WWI period from ca. 1919 to ca. 1945 and end of WWII;
- (v) the post-WWII period from ca. 1945 to the present.



The space-time tables (Appendix I) provide a quick overview of the main historical events from 1450 as the peoples of Europe explored and settled the "New" World. The wave of newcomers moved up the rivers and river valleys of the continent from the Atlantic. The more remote northern parts of the continent that were unfavourable for agriculture never directly felt the main force of this wave and have remained remote to this day.

However, virtually no part of the continent was untouched by the ripples of aftershocks created as the wave pushed inland. The native peoples of North America lived along the waterways at least part of the year in pursuit of their livelihoods and travelled them in pursuit of trade with each other. Native trade routes criss-crossed the continent north to south and east to west.

THE FRENCH PERIOD

When the French first came, they found the Iroquoian peoples on both sides of Lakes Ontario and Erie exchanging corn, nets and tobacco for furs, arrowheads, etc. from the north via the Ojibwa peoples of Lake Superior, who traded with peoples to the north and west of the Lake, and via the Nipissings, who traded on James Bay with people who came from inland for that purpose. French trade goods and word of these new people would have reached the people throughout Ontario's Boreal Forest long before the new people themselves. The first French attempts at exploration to the north of the St. Lawrence-Ottawa-French Rivers were thwarted by native peoples concerned with preserving their exclusive trading routes and rights who didn't want the French to trade directly with their trading partners.

The very earliest trading in furs between Europeans and Indians was conducted by the latter - furs were accumulated by native traders from various tribes and brought to the French at annual "fairs" at Montreal, Quebec, Trois Rivieres and Tadoussac along the St. Lawrence. Gradually, Frenchmen themselves got into the act and went into the Indian country for purposes of trade. Alone or with a partner, they went as peddlers, carrying a pack of "tools and trinkets" and trading from village to village for a year or two then returning to Quebec or Montreal when their goods were exhausted. Early French "houses" were exactly that - not trading posts set up, but cabins in which traders wintered and which they abandoned when spring came.

As white settlement increased and transportation systems for freight through the Great Lakes were established, Michilimackinac and the Soo became depots for the traders. Trade goods were hauled there in vaster quantities than one or two peddlers could carry, and the latter set out from and returned to the depots instead of Montreal and Quebec. Ultimately by the middle of the 1700's, Grand Portage on Lake Superior became the depot for the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes trade as it expanded further westward.

Throughout this early period of peddlers "trade" was conducted more as a gift exchange than as trade or even barter. The peddler, encountering some



Indians, displayed his wares, gave some items as gifts to the Indians who took them away. Later they came back and gave the trader furs. At this time, if the Indians wanted something else the trader carried, they asked what he would take for it; he would examine the furs they had brought and state what he would like. If this was agreeable to the Indian, the exchange was made and both parties went on their ways.

This was how the trade from the south was conducted. To the north, the Hudson's Bay Company, after its chartering in 1670, established posts on Hudson and James Bays and like the French during the earlier part of the century, stayed at the posts and waited for the Indians to come "shopping at the Bay." Albany Fort was built at the mouth of the Albany River in 1705, but the HBC didn't start to move inland until 1743 when Henley House was built as an outpost of Albany at the junction of the Albany and Kenogami Rivers to combat the loss of customers to the expanding French trade in the south.

THE ENGLISH PERIOD

The last quarter of the 1700's brought the first major change to the fur trade. With the transfer of France's claims in the New World to England in 1763 and England's loss of her original colonies in 1776:

- (i) British traders at Albany, New York moved to Montreal and quickly filled the vacancy left by the French; and eventually
- (ii) the Iroquois threat to the trade and colonists was removed;
- (iii) land grants to and treaty arrangements with the native people over the land in Southern Ontario began to be made;
 - (iv) Southern Ontario became settled by the United Empire Loyalists from the American colonies who didn't want to sever ties with Britain and by increasing immigration of settlers from Britain (the French had seen the New World primarily as a source of wealth, and were not much interested in settlement):
 - (v) with the threat of the French removed, the HBC proceeded to establish more inland posts on the Albany (Gloucester 1777, Osnaburgh 1786, Nipigon 1793, Marten Falls 1794); and
 - (vi) the new independent country of the United States pushed westward, displacing more native peoples the Sioux replaced the Iroquois as the main source of threat and warfare to the Ojibwa peoples of Lake Superior, of the Boreal Forest of Ontario and of the transitional forest zone along what was to become the border between Canada and the United States.

The formation of the North West Company at Grand Portage in 1784-7 perhaps represents the landmark event in this change. By combining their efforts under a single operation, the formerly small and independent traders who created the NWC were ennabled to:

- (i) establish a system of permanent posts;
- (ii) establish the transportation supply lines necessary to maintain these posts at a considerable distance from settled areas (e.g., by ships on the Great Lakes); and



(iii) establish fixed prices for the goods based on their cost plus the cost of transportation to specific posts - (the days of gift exchange trading gradually began to disappear).

Permanent posts in turn:

- (i) introduced a new element into the trade an Indian could exchange his labour for goods - to supply food, clothing, equipment to personnel at posts, to help with agricultural work, to transport freight and mail and to act as a runner in winter to bring in furs;
- (ii) represented a source of food that could be fallen back on in winter;
- (iii) provided a base of operations and transportation for those with interests other than furs, notably missionairies; and
- (iv) reinforced focal points for the annual movements of native people most posts were located where native people had for generations gathered in the early summer, however these patterns had been distorted somewhat by the necessity to either move around seeking traders who were on the move or by the need to travel long distances to get to the HBC posts on the Bay or the depots at Grand Portage, Sault Ste. Marie or Michilimackinac.

However, the establishment of fixed posts and fixed prices by competing companies also had an unsettling effect. The native people shopped selectively and would go great distances to get the best goods and best prices. Many people took advantage of the posts by taking debt at one or more posts in the fall and going to yet another post in spring to trade the winter's catch for more goods. Thus arose the system of runners sent out by the posts in the winter to bring back the furs owed.

The merger of the NWC and HBC in 1821 under the name and charter of the latter did little to relieve the competition; it was too easy to travel north, south, east or west to another post. And for years De La Ronde at Nipigon House on Lake Nipigon encouraged the Indians from the Albany (and elsewhere) to do so. At least as late as 1900 runners were still employed in the Albany trade.

Fur trade history fails to take into account that the Indians continued to carry on trade between themselves. White traders and goods just expanded an activity that already existed, providing more people to trade with and different goods to trade for. But these goods could also be acquired through the "regular channels" - <u>i.e.</u>, other Indians. (Furs always had been a medium of exchange in the same way money is.)

Fur return records therefore do not accurately reflect the annual trapping results. There is no way to tell if all the furs trapped in an area around a post were traded at that post, nor is there any way to tell if the furs brought in by a person were actually trapped by that person. Fur returns do not necessarily accurately reflect the state of animal populations in the areas around posts.

THE IMPACT OF TRADE GOODS

The story of the contact between native North Americans and the newcomers from Europe has always been examined and told within the one-way, single



cause-effect, subject-object pattern peculiar to western language and thought; i.e., as if the Indians were passive receptors of the whiteman's words, ideas, goods and actions, changing accordingly until today they bear no resemblance to and, indeed, have no connection with their prehistoric and early historic ancestors.

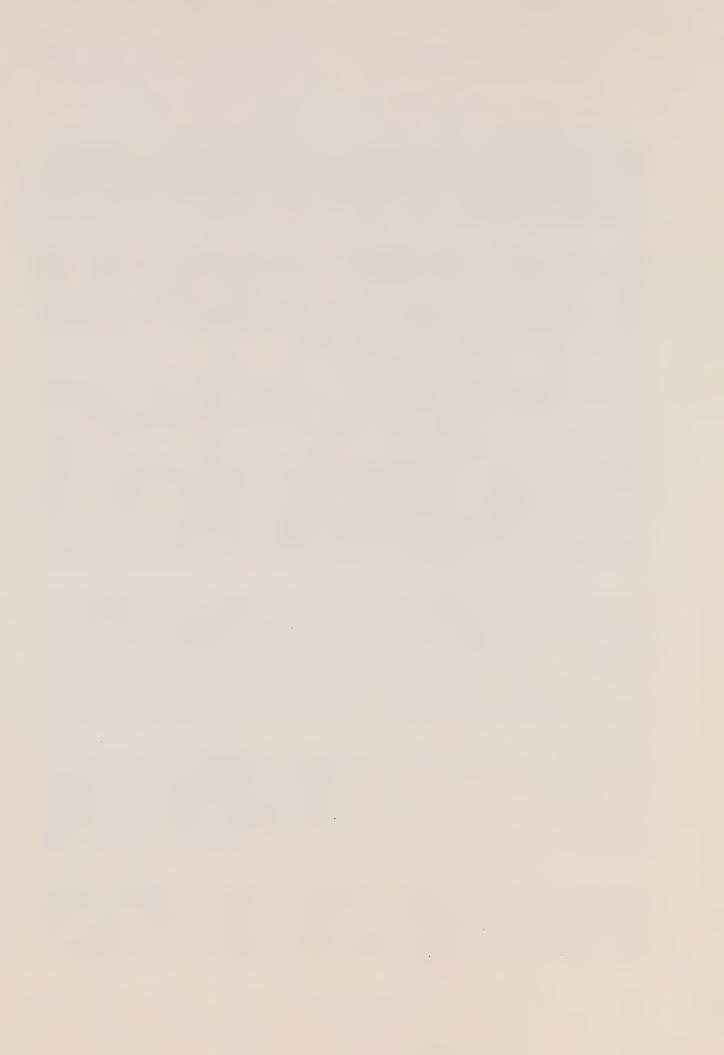
The Indians of course were <u>not</u> passive receptors of anything. They were people with their own total, complete, integrated and viable culture. They were people who made choices based on who and what they were, where they lived and the times they lived in. When confronted with the new people, their goods and their strange ways, they observed carefully and chose to take that which had meaning, value and use to them in <u>their</u> lives. What they did not understand or could not use, they ignored.

Until recently, the authors worked with the unconscious contradiction that the Indian people were changed by the newcomers while at the same time knowing that many aspects of the old culture were either "alive and well" in both and the communities today or were just now beginning to die out. It was easy to say that the latter have survived in spite of all the changes brought by the whiteman. It was not so easy to see that the assumption of change is based almost entirely on one's knowledge of all the archival and historic material that thoroughly documents the ways in which the whitemen wanted or tried to make the Indian change. The continued existence of the old means that Indians hadn't changed and that there is a continuous unbroken line between the farthest past and the immediate present which only began to seriously fray after World War II and which is on the verge of breaking only today.

The items of white material culture that the Indian sought in trade were determined by the criterion of survival - the survival of the item itself which, of course, enhanced the survival of people. Throughout the 1600's and for most of the 1700's, the main European goods traded to the Indians consisted of blankets and "tools and trinkets" (metal knives, hatchets, arrowheads, kettles, beads, etc.). Metal knives and hatchets didn't cut any better than stone tools - flint is as sharp as the finest surgical steel - but they had a longer lifespan ... they didn't break if dropped on the Canadian Shield. Nor did metal pots.

Blankets had to be an early item of trade because the most prized fur was the castor gris - the beaver robes worn by the Indians from which the long guard hairs had been worn. If you want the "shirt off someone's back", it had to be replaced with something. Even when felt makers in Europe devised better ways to remove the unwanted hairs, the same problem remained - in order to acquire the hides and pelts used for clothing, traders had to offer cloth goods to replace them.

Firearms were introduced into the trade \underline{ca} . 1615, but the authors do not believe the early guns had either the range or accuracy to improve or enhance survival in the Boreal Forest and keeping the powder dry would always have been a problem for the semi-nomadic Boreal Foresters. The bow and arrow and other methods for capturing larger game were not abandoned until relatively



recently. Though of minimal use in acquiring food, a musket or a smooth bore flintlock rifle does put you on an equal basis with other people similarly armed. As strangers, both white and Indian, came to be encountered more frequently, even a primitive gun comes to be a necessity for survival.

Gradually clothing expanded from blankets to material and factory-made clothes as the trade from the south expanded with the formation of companies. Through the 1800's, post inventories show increasing stock of basic ready-made clothing and the cloth and needles, etc. for making clothing.

No significant change in the type of goods traded came until 50 to 75 years after the vast changes in manufacturing and other technology that took place in Europe in the mid-1800's.

Change in the steel-making process and the development of cartridges brought about radical improvements in firearms, but the new weapons were at first developed for military purposes and were not widespread amongst the people of the Boreal Forest, for example, until into the present century. Flintlock and percussion cap rifles were still in use just prior to the turn of this century.

The cartridge and repeating rifle and the shotgun do directly improve your success as a hunter ... once you've learned to use them with accuracy. But they require learning a new skill - the hand-eye coordination necessary with a rifle is different than that required by bows, slings and spears.

[anthropologists] have repeatedly tried to explain the fact that nonliterates are generally poor shots with rifles, ...

... it was the literate American colonists who were first to insist on a rifled barrel and improved gun-sights. They improved the old muskets, creating the Kentucky rifle. It was the highly literate Bostonians who outshot the British regulars. Marksmanship is not the gift of the native or the woodsman, but of the literate colonist. ... In the Marine Corps it has been found that there is a definite correlation between education and marksmanship. Not for the nonliterate is our easy selection of a separate, isolated target in space, with the rifle as an extension of the eye.

[McLuhan 1964, p. 296]

[1786 AR Journal. Mess:Book and. Expens At Memenusca Lake, HBC Archives, B131/a/1 1785-86]

April 23: ... all the Indians Went off to Hunt Geese their is 10-Hunters But I Doubt they Wont Kill many they are But Bad Hands at Killing Flieng

April 28: ... their is 44 Indians Lieng at this Lake now they ar all a Starving can geat no Gees to Kill

May 15: ... the Hunters has been a starving all the Hunt they Have only Brought in 20 Geese



The steel trap likely also required getting used to - by both trapper and prey. It was introduced just prior to 1800, but could not have totally replaced traditional forms of traps until this century because older Fort Hopians used the latter in their earlier days. A problem presented by heavy and bulky items like metal traps is what do semi-nomadic people do with such items during the off seasons?

Confederation, the building of the railway, mineral and other exploration all gave impetus to the development of white equivalents of native equipment: the cedar strip canoe, canvas tents, metal tent stoves. Like metal tools, wooden canoes are sturdier and better survive contact with the Canadian Shield or parts thereof. Birch bark canoes seem to have required frequent patching and annual replacement. The Hudson's Bay Company began to use Peterborough canoes for their own transportation soon after the turn of the present century and by the 1930's native people too had abandoned the birch bark canoe.

Judging from early photographs, sheets of canvas began to replace birchbark as covering for the traditional tipi which eventually was replaced by the ready-made tent. As the geographical pattern of movements, which had been disrupted or made uncertain throughout the fur trade period, began to settle down after the treaties, small log cabins came to be built on the lakes where posts were established and on traplines. (It should be noted that the building of a more permanent dwelling does not mean they were lived in all year round.)

With one exception (to be discussed in the next section), the items of European material culture acquired by the Indians did not bring about any radical changes in either the people or the way they lived. In all cases they were free to accept or reject the goods offered for trade as their own circumstances dictated. The metal tools that replaced those of flint were used in exactly the same way and for the same purposes as the latter. They were acquired by trading the same commodities (furs) always traded, in the same places trade had always taken place and with both familiar people and strangers who had come for the express purposes of trading.

In addition, the type and quantities of goods were limited by:

- (i) the market that is, what the Indians wanted or could use in the context of their lifeway;
- (ii) the terrain transportation was by water, rivers and streams flowing over rapids and falls which necessitated the use of canoes for the interior trade and that limited the quantity of goods that could be transported; and
- (iii) the climate which placed severe time restrictions on the distance to which goods could be transported and from which furs could be returned in a year.

For all these reasons we say that the whiteman's material goods made no substantial change or difference to the way people lived. The main change that did occur, of course, was that the knowledge and skills involved in flaking flint, making clay vessels and birchbark canoes eventually disappeared.



THE IMPACT OF BOOZE AND RELIGION

Of greater importance to the Indian people than the effects of white material culture were the social disruptions, cultural discontinuities and geographical dislocations caused by:

- (i) the disastrous effects of European diseases which spread via the trade routes, carried by natives and whites alike;
- (ii) warfare between: whites and natives; natives and natives; and between the French and English and between the latter and their colonies on the Atlantic seaboard;
- (iii) expanding populations of white settlers; and
- (iv) booze which seems to have been the most highly-prized item of the traders' stock of goods until at least the latter half of the 1800's and the consumption of which almost always erupted in violence (the main reason fur trade posts were palisaded and fortified).

We use the word 'booze' because it frequently appears in fur trade records. Used as a verb it refers to the overconsumption of alcohol and, as far as the Oxford English Dictionary can determine, came into use in European countries at about the same time Europeans began to explore and expand into the rest of the world. Booze and religion have been put together because the same aspects of native culture predisposed Indians to both the initial use and pursuit of alcohol and the acceptance of white priests and ministers.

The worldview of native North Americans centred around the concepts of medicine, power and manitou and the understandings that came from dreams. Unlike the whiteman, the Indian made no strict dichotomy between mind or soul and body, the sacred and the secular, church and state or the religious and medical professions. All was one. The cultivation of one's personal powers, medicines and dreams began with the vision quest and continued throughout one's life. They were unique to each individual and those particularly gifted in healing, understanding, knowledge and the interpretation of dreams and events became "medicine" men or women.

There is indication in the earliest French records that among the Algonkian and Iroquoian peoples of the St. Lawrence-Lower Great Lakes there were also to be found those who only claimed to have special powers, twisting the beliefs of the people to serve their own ends. They neither hunted nor fished but were supported by the efforts of other members of their families. Since they represented a potential threat of the use of power in a destructive way, they went unchallenged and were able to intimidate others. Perhaps it is because there were such individuals that native people attributed sickness or any form of bad luck to the practice of bad medicine against themselves by some human agency.

From the Indian's viewpoint, the whitemen were seen as being especially powerful because of their sailing ships, metal tools and guns. The priests that came with the French were seen as being medicine men and were called okis (Iroquois) and manitous (Algonkian). Their 'Jesus power' was logically perceived as being very powerful just as the ships, tools and guns were.



The Indians who met Cartier and Champlain on the St. Lawrence were desirous of trade with these newcomers, but were reluctant to permit their traders or medicine men to proceed inland to their homelands. However the Wendat were anxious for French military aid and finally agreed to allow the priests to come to their villages in exchange for the assistance of Champlain and his soldiers against the Iroquois. In 1639 the Jesuits began to establish missions among the Wendat and other Iroquoian peoples north of the lower Great Lakes and to visit their Algonkian neighbours at the Soo and on Lake Superior.

In a very short period of time, among the Wendat and other villages that had been decimated by European diseases against which native people had no immunity and in the face of which medicine men were rendered powerless:

- (i) the priests and their activities created divisions between people (those who were for them and became followers and those who were against) and were in direct competition with medicine people (particularly the sham ones) whom they actively tried to suppress;
- (ii) to some extent, divisions must have been created within people themselves as these powerful ones spoke against and put down the people's own beliefs; and
- (iii) the Iroquois-Wendat feud intensified.

In 1650 the Iroquois either killed or drove away all the Iroquoian-speakers who inhabited what is now southern Ontario and then turned their wrath on the Algonkian peoples to the north. The survivors were starving remnants of families, bands and villages who fled north and west of Lake Superior and caused disruptions to or created pressures upon the peoples through whose territories they moved, which in turn created new hostilities between people: e.g., the Sioux and Ojibwa. Duncan Cameron, writing ca. 1800, concluded that it was about this time that the grandfathers of the people living in the area bounded by Lake Superior and Hudson Bay and Lakes Nipigon and Winnipeg in 1800 had settled in the area.

Missionaries did not regain the foothold they held so briefly amongst the Iroquoian villages until the establishment of permanent posts in the 1800's which established the transportation and supply lines necessary for their existence. Fort Hope provides a good example - within five years of the establishment of a post on Eabamet Lake, both Catholic and Anglican churches were being built. Prior to that time there had been a church at Marten Falls and missions were well established at Albany Fort and Moose Factory.

Typical of western culture, missionary success seems to have been quantitatively determined by number of baptisms. However, regardless of the number of baptisms, only some people had dealings with the white medicine men and there is no indication that for all their efforts, missionaries were able to stamp out that bane of their existence: "paganism" and "primitive superstitions". To begin with, the autonomy of individuals and the native holistic world view made it impossible for Indians to grasp, much less believe in, the hierarchical and dichotomized world view of Christianity. The Jesuits had a devil of a time even trying to convey the idea of the Christian God and it was they who invented the expression "Gitche Manitou".



Native people spoke and continue to speak of "the creator" or "that which creates" - a concept that is akin to the concept of "energy" in modern physics. The concept of the whiteman's heaven was perhaps the greatest stumbling block:

Some Years ago there was an Indian dying at my house, ... and a Gentleman of the name of Perrault that was with me at the time, wished to baptize him when he knew that he was beyond recovery, and took great pains to explain to the Indian the benefit he would receive thereby; but he answered very coolly, saying that his Father, Brothers, and several other nigh relatives were already dead, and that he would die in the same manner they did, that he might go and join them, ...

[Cameron, p.13]

Secondly, as long as native people lived in traditional ways, their beliefs and practices continued to be those that had developed from and made sense in the context of their environment and their lives. The disappearance of those beliefs and practices relates to changes in lifeways, not to missionary efforts to stamp out "paganism" — which simply continued out of sight of critical white eyes until very recent times.

The effect of Christianity, churches and missionaries on native people has been profound, but of a much more indirect than direct nature. It was the Church in western society that formulated, articulated and dictated the world view of westerners. Even after the Protestant Reformation and the secularization of knowledge and learning made possible by the printing press, the western world view was still basically Christian in nature and based on the church interpretation of the Bible. One aspect of this world view was its absolute intolerance of any beliefs other than its own - hence the Crusades, Inquisitions and missionaries to kill, burn or convert the heathens, infidels and pagans - i.e., anyone outside of its ranks. Another aspect was its perception of non-Christian peoples and cultures as being lower on the chain of being than Christian peoples - either not human at all or barely human - and their beliefs as being merely superstitions. Indians, for example, were seen as having no religion - an idea that persists to this day and that was heard uttered by an individual at the Anglican mission in Fort Hope in 1981.] Because of this world view, most white people were prejudiced against native peoples the world over, seeing them as obviously inferior to themselves and with no culture or anything worth preserving. It was the Christian's duty to help raise the Indian out of his primitive, savage state and improve him by making him more like white people. It was these attitudes with their source in the Christian world view that shaped almost all white-Indian contact except that of the traders and the Indians.

The difference between traders and all those who came after is that the trader-Indian relationship was basically one of equality in the sense that the Indian had something of value to the trader and the trader had things of value to the Indians. They agreed upon an exchange of what each valued, made the trade and went their own ways. Missionaries, with the attitude that



there was nothing to learn <u>from</u> the Indian but everything to teach him, established a one-way relationship. Later, missionaries of the bureaucratic and social variety were to carry on in this same pattern.

Apart from this very general and broad effect of the Christian world view, there were four other ways in which the churches and missionaries affected native people:

- (i) in the days when the church played a more prominent role in white affairs, they and their followers campaigned and lobbied and thus influenced public opinion and governmental policies and programs directed toward Indians;
- (ii) it was the churches and missionaries that were responsible for introducing education and who conducted the first schooling first to teach catechism, then to teach the basic 3 R's in mission schools run during the summer near posts and finally to operate residential schools funded by the government it was education that would eventually have the most profound effect on native people, their lifeways and culture;
- (iii) a literary apartheid was created with Rev. James Evans' invention of Cree syllabics in 1840 so that Bibles and hymn books could be translated and written in native languages two visual codes, one for white languages and one for native languages, forever separates the two and makes it that much more difficult for speakers of one to learn the other; in addition, a syllabic code lacks the precision of a phonetic code and loses its effectiveness as a means of communication between groups that each speak a different dialect:
 - (iv) the bestowing and recording of baptismal names along with increasing involvement with written records, eventually destroyed the clan system.

Some elaboration of the last point is required. Before churches and baptisms, a child received his name from an elder at a special naming ceremony. This name was generally not known to anyone but the person and his/her family and was not used for "everyday purposes". Names that were used to designate a person were in the nature of "nicknames" and a person could have many, being known as Chipmunk amongst one group of people and by the name One-Who-Falls-Out-of-Canoe by another group, etc. Undoubtedly native people regarded the baptismal English first name (and sometimes English surname recorded at that time) in the same way as another "nickname" — a name he was known by or called by yet another group of people. English surnames do not necessarily indicate any past intermarriage, but rather the appropriateness of a complete white name for purposes of a white ceremony and use among white people.

All the Indian names a person might have indicated individuality. Relationship to other people came from the clan one belonged to just as surnames among white people indicate a person's family. Hence recorded surnames should have been clan names. Since they weren't and since contact with white people and their written records gradually increased, real and traditional extended kinship ties were eventually obscured and the clan system gradually



disappeared. The HBC records document this shift and it is virtually impossible to trace lineage backwards much beyond 1850. Prior to this time, fur trade records record native names. After this time, as missionaries and churches became established, more and more new names appear in the records and the old names gradually disappear.

* * * * *

Ordinarily it would take 75 to 100 years before any kind of change encountered by a group of people is totally assimilated or digested by the group. All those born after a change occurs grow up with the change and take it for granted as being the normal or usual. It is not until they become the elders that all people in the group are those who have grown up with the change. However, the people affected by the dislocations and disruptions following 1650 were not able to settle down and grow accustomed to their changed circumstances. The increasing numbers of traders eager to make their fortunes from furs, the westward expansion of the white population from the Atlantic seaboard and the increasing antagonisms between the French and English and later the Americans and Canadians acted to maintain the element of unsettledness and socio-cultural disruptions for 250 years until the turn of the present century.

Given these kinds of disruptions to the fabric of the lives of individuals and groups and times of uncertainty, confusion and personal depression, booze was one way of coping and for some it therefore had survival value. Given also the concepts of medicine and personal power; the pattern of feast or famine; a system of logic that blames the alcohol and not the person for acts committed while drunk; and the very rigid internal control of the Indians; the whiteman's medicine - booze, instant power - became the single item offered by the traders that was prized above all else. Its consumption was almost always overconsumption and often as not led to violence.

July 15: ... for they [the Indians] are not in want of any thing in the Summer but Brandy.

[Gloucester House Journal 1777, HBC Archives, B.78/a/2]

May 11: the Natives very drunk and uncommonly Troublesome for Liquor, the English are so lavish in their presents of Rum, to the Natives, that when they come to these Settlements, it is almost an impossibility to give them Satisfaction.

[Henley House Journal 1778, HBC Archives, B.86/a/31]

Jan. 9: ... men employed making a tent in the woods for the indians to drink in ...

Jan. 28: ... Indians ... arrived with their furrs ... gave them a treat of rum and they went to the tent in the woods to drink ...

Jan. 29: Indians sleeping

Feb. 17: 5 Indian men ... arrived with their debts after paying which, gave them a treat of rum and tobacco and put them out to drink



But it was not just the consumption that spawned violence. It was also the pursuit and acquisition of booze. Furs were required to acquire booze and furs could be acquired either by trapping or by taking them from someone who had trapped them. Life in the Boreal Forest became more hazardous as the hunter became the hunted and today's elders speak of examples of this new hazard that occurred as recently as their parents' and grandparents' lifetimes.

- May 6: ... the Uplander of Yesterday informs me, that 6 other Indians men were kill'd with his Father last Summer. I fear it will cause more Bloodshed, and be an Obstruction to Trade.
- May 9: ... 2 Canoes of Uplanders ... inform me that the Indians murdered 5 Englishmen, and a part of their Indians last Fall, and destroyed the Settlement at a Place ... between 4 and 5 hundred Miles up Country.

[Henley House Journal 1778, HBC Archives, B.86/a/31]

Sep. 17: 2 of best hunters of this lake killed last summer in a quarrel.

[Lake St. Ann Journal 1792, HBC Archives, B.149/a/1]

Henley House Report 1814, p.3:

another great bar in the trade is the animosities among the different tribes of Natives this has caused many murders, at Henley House there is not an Indian properly belonging to the grounds about this place escaped the knife or gun ...

Apr. 20: ... one of these Indians took debt ... at Attawappiscat he says fear of the Cranes induced him to come here [to bring his fur] having heard they are laying about the place.

[Gloucester House Journal 1817, HBC Archives, B.78/a/25]

The HBC journals frequently refer to "home" Indians and "strange" Indians. The former are people who come to trade at a particular post year after year and seem to be the people who were always established or at least well-established in the Boreal Forest. The latter are either 'drifters' who are not settled in any particular area or who wander in search of furs & booze. The latter might be termed "Whiskians" — people for whom booze and the pursuit of booze became a lifeway.

Dec. 18: 2 Families of home Indians came in half starv'd (other Indians having been upon the Ground and have kill'd All the Beaver etc. ...)

[Henley House Journal 1776, HBC Archives, B.86/a/30]

- July 4: two Indians arrived belonging Osnaburgh gave them a pipe of tobacco and set them off ...
- July 17: two Indians belonging Osnaburgh passed here
- Sep. 1: 4 St. Anns Indians brought a few furrs ...

[Gloucester House Journal 1816, HBC Archives, B.78/a/25]

Also not taken into account in such interpretations of the historic records are: the population fluctuations of all species; severe winters which prevent movement across the land and confine all human efforts to bare subsistence; and the Indian way of operating, taking only what is needed - either for today's meals or to pay the annual debt. The latter would fluctuate according to what the trader had to offer that was useful to the latter would fluctuate according to what the trader had to offer that was useful to the Indian.

There was little change in the kinds of goods available and the most important of these were desirable precisely because they were durable. Hence the trader's market would quickly have become saturated resulting in a corresponding decrease in debts and a resultant decrease in fur returns. The idea of the 1800's as being the "Fish and Hare" period for northern Indians implies that previously the Indians were all "big game hunters". The authors feel it is more likely that the smaller and numerically more plentiful fauna like fish, rabbits and beaver always did form the basic diet in the Boreal Forest which was supplemented with "big game". The concept of "big game hunters" seems to be an urban white notion which is not based on the "facts of life" in the Boreal Forest ecosystem.

July 27: 5 Indians belonging Long Lake brought a few skins ...

Aug. 20: 7 Indians belonging Lake St. Anns [Nipigon] came brought nothing with an intention of theiring our nets as I suppose ...

[Gloucester House Journal 1817, HBC Archives, B. 78/a/26]

Minutes of Temporary Council at Moose Factory, August 7, 1843

[Resolved] 72. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be instructed to exert their best influence with the Indians to apportion their Lands to different families and not to encroach on each others hunting Grounds.

[HBC Archives, B135 k]

Marten Falls Journal 1868-9: Indians from Osnaburgh and Big Trout Lake were stealing furs from the Marten Falls Indians.

Jan. 1: Two Strange Indians Came in with about 80 [Hade Beaver]

Jan. 22: ... in the evening eight more strange Indians came with some furs to trade ...

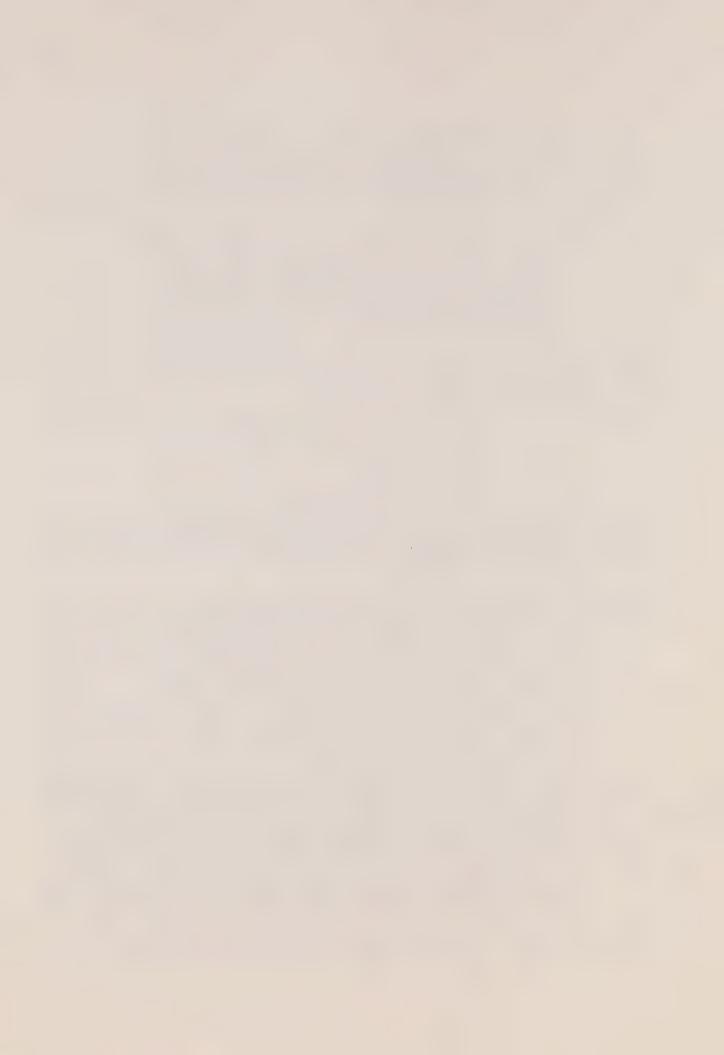
[Nipigon House Journal 1897, HBC Archives, B.149/a/25]

The authors do not interpret the resolution of the temporary council at Moose Factory as meaning the Indians had no traditional hunting territories in earlier times. The wandering and poaching portion of the population related to geographical displacement and to booze.

The authors also feel that the socio-cultural disruptions and problems resulting from displacement of peoples and booze were also the source of:

- (i) the often-mentioned depletion of game and fur-bearers in Northern Ontario which is based on decreasing fur returns and comments in post journals many furs likely "leaked" out of the area to the south and west in the direction of the whiskey trade;
- (ii) the steady mention of starving Indians in addition to poaching activities by 'drifters' which depletes a family's traditional area of an important food resource such as beaver, the lack of a thoroughly known area puts the 'drifters' themselves at a survival disadvantage in the Boreal Forest;
- (iii) the steady gravitation of people to the vicinity of fur posts which in part may have been related to the raiding and killing that was going on; in this connection it is interesting to note that it was frequently women, children and elders who stayed near the posts;
- (iv) a great disproportion between married males and married females as illustrated by Table 4 clearly something was happening to the menand references to "multiple wives" probably do not indicate a cultural practise of taking more than one wife (particularly in an ecosystem where resources are frequently scarce), but rather a dead man's brother assuming responsibility for the widow and children.

A further impetus to the use of alcohol among Indians of the Boreal Forest was the increasing contact first with other native people and later white



people who were strangers and with whom people did not in the least feel at ease. The often-mentioned shyness of the northern native people was an inevitable result of living in small groups of people to whom one is related and who are the only people one really knows and therefore can trust. If the only known ways of relating to other people is via specific kinship ties, there is no basis upon which to interact with strangers who are non-kin.

Indians saw their relationship with white people as analogous to a parent-child relationship but that analogy is doomed to eventually break down because the reality is that Indian adults are not children. Ultimately a point must be reached beyond which the basis of the relationship won't work and

Census Population Lake Nipigon 1st June 1850 [PAC, RG 10, Vol 1728]

[Clan]	Married M F	Single M F	Children H F	Total H F	TOTALS
Moose	9 10	5 5	4 9	18 24	42
Burbottes	14 18	3 13	23 18	40 49	89
Loons	11 13	14 5	16 13	41 31	72
Eagles	4 7	1 5	3 8	8 20	28
Bears	4 7	4 2	2 5	10 14	24
Kingfishers	15 21	6 6	21 21	42 48	90
Lynx	2 3	1 1	5 3	8 7	15
Reindeer	2 2		2 -	4 2	6
Carp		- 1		- 1	1
Half Breed		- 1		- 1	1
TOTAL	61 81	34 39 Table 3	76 77	171 197	368

adult confronts adult with no mechanism for interaction - largely because the white mind also perceives the relationship as one of superior to inferior and rarely, if ever, contemplates the possibility of "equal but different". Booze helps overcome the difficulties of social interaction with both native and white strangers.

I have often heard them [Indians] reason thus 'It is not for your Cloth and Blankets that we undergo all this labour and fatigue, as in a short time we could reconcile ourselves to the use of Skins as our forefathers did, but it is the prospect of a drink in the Spring to enable us to communicate freely and speak our minds to each other that carries us through the Winter and induces us to Work so hard.

[George Simpson, HBC; McKay, p.224-5]

The HBC rum imported for the trade was 33% overproof (McKay, p.230); that is, its alcohol content was 76%, almost twice that of modern liquors (about 40%). Even mixing the overproof stock with as much as 7 parts water still yielded a drink with an alcohol content of $9\frac{1}{2}\%$ or about that of present day wines.

At least by the late 1700's, many of those involved in the fur trade saw very clearly the disastrous effects of booze upon native people, their society and culture.

... the Indians totally neglect their ancient customs; and to what can this degeneracy be ascribed but to their intercourse with us, particularly as they are so unfortunate as to have a continual succession of opposition parties to teach them roguery and destroy both mind and body with that pernicious article, rum? What a different set of people they would be, were there not a drop of liquor in the country! If a murder is committed among the Saulteurs, it is always in a drinking match. We may truly say that liquor is the root of evil in the North West.

[Alexander Henry, 1803; Coues, p.209]



It will appear from the fatal consequences I have repeatedly imputed to the use of spiritous liquors, that I more particularly consider these people as having been, morally speaking, great sufferers from their communication with the subjects of civilized nations.

[MacKenzie, p. xcvii]

The established traders were concerned for both humanitarian and business reasons. They saw the trade in a holistic way as involving the animals, the Indians and themselves - damage to any of the components meant damage to the others. But they were caught in a vicious double bind: without booze, the furs went to someone else which was, of course, damaging to their livelihood; yet at the same time, drunken or dead Indians didn't make good trappers and there were no furs either.

It must be remembered that the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company were not the only competitors in the trade. There was also John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company and many lesser companies and independent traders as well. From very early on, attempts were made to eliminate booze from the trade.

At an early period of their intercourse [the missionaries] with the savages, a custom was introduced of a very excellent tendency, but is now unfortunately discontinued, of not selling any spiritous liquor to the natives. This admirable regulation was for some time observed, with all the respect due to the religion by which it was sanctioned, and whose severest censures followed the violation of it. A painful penance could alone restore the offender to the suspended rites of the sacrament. The casuistry of trade, however, discovered a way to gratify the Indians with their favourite cordial, without incurring the ecclesiastical penalties, by giving, instead of selling it to them.

[MacKenzie, p. vi]

Gradually and firmly the use of spirits was diminished. The practice of the centuries stimulated by the flagrant abuses of 1800 to 1821 did not yield readily, and though the fur traders were anxious to avoid impairing the efficiency of the hunting Indian, they were reluctant to give up their practice of treating when the trade was done or providing water-weakened alcohol for the feasts and high occasions. The insistence of the London Committee, the tireless agitation from the Church of England Missionary Society, and the questioning, if unspecified, view of the colonial office were the principal forces in the final suppression.

nal suppression.

By 1860 spirits were no longer given to Indians ... [McKay, p.228]

But the damage had already been done and booze continued to be a problem for native people to the present time. As Fort Hopians observed on Questionnaire #2, "there is nothing nobody can do" about booze, the drinking situation "will never change" because it's "been happening too long", it "has always been like this".

And perhaps it always has been a problem if the false medicine men who only claimed to have special powers are seen as being the forerunners to the Whiskians of later years.



THE POST-CONFEDERATION PERIOD

The technological change \underline{ca} . 1850 that eventually would have the greatest effect on the lives of Fort Hopians and the other native people in the north was the changes in transportation brought about by the earlier development of the steam engine which led to steamships and railways, and the internal combustion engine which led to the simultaneous development of the motorcar and airplanes.

It was the promise of a transcontinental railway that both brought about and made possible Canadian Confederation in 1867. It was the transcontinental railway that began operating in 1886 that:

- replaced the Albany River and other water routes as main transportation routes to the interior of the continent and westwards;
- (ii) brought more newcomers into the Boreal Forest and renewed the HBC's competition from independent traders and smaller trading companies plus introduced competition for the Indian trapper from white trappers;

A trader named Timmins arrived at Albany from English River ... He came from Montizambert with 3 Pic Indians, who ... refused to remain with him and went back he proceeded straight out to sea along in his canoe intending to attempt to reach the Attawapiscat River and trade with the northern Indians. ... Having failing to reach Attawapiscat he made his way back to Albany, ... managed to reach English River... . Timmins' intention was to cache his supplies, go up to the line, [rail line] get a fresh stock, return and pass the winter at English River, and in spring make another attempt to reach Attawapiscat by way of Eabemut Lake.

[Albany River District Inspection Report, p.192, HBC Archives D.25/14 1891]

(iii) prompted the HBC to establish the Fort Hope post (as well as others around the same time period) in an attempt to remain competitive and to keep the Indians from roaming so far and wide in the pursuit of trade.

Confederation brought about the HBC's sale to the Dominion of Canada of their rights and interests in the vast area known as Rupert's Land (the Hudson Bay watershed), the Indian Territory between Rupert's Land and the Rockies, and Vancouver Island. One of the first jobs of the new Dominion was to settle its internal boundaries and come to some arrangement with the native peoples of the vast north and west over title to the land.

With the Robertson-Superior Treaty of 1850 agreements between the Crown and native peoples had been made covering the land in Ontario north to Rupert's Land.

Many of the peoples to the north of the height of land actively sought similar arrangements for themselves:

Application to enter Treaty

June 3RD, 1901 Application was made to Mr. Inspector Macrae,



while paying annuity in 1899, by Indians living in the unsurrendered territory north of the district comprised in the Robinson Huron and Superior Treaties of 1850, to enter and receive the benefits of treaty and thus obtain Government protection against encroachments by Railway companies, mining prospectors etc.

August 22, 1901 This application was renewed to Mr. Stewart, when he was making the annuity payments in the summer of 1901, and a written application was received by the Department in December of the same year.

[PAC, RG 10 DIA microfilm C-11,314]

Osnaburgh December 12th, 1901 Via Dinorwic Ontario

To the Honourable the Supt. Gen of Indian Affairs
Ottawa
Sir

Enclosed please find a request of the Indians for the extension of the Annuity system to this section of the Dominion.

The request was first broached in September last and before writing it for the Indians I have made careful enquiry and the results as now forwarded. ...

Jabez Williams. Clerk H.B. Company

[PAC, RG 10 DIA, microfilm C-11,314]

Ottawa, 27th January, 1902

Sirs:-

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your petition of the 12th December last, stating your desire, for the reasons contained in the petition, to relinquish your rights to the lands situated in the section of the Dominion occupied by you and to have the benefits of the annuity grant extended to you. In reply I beg to inform you that the subjects contained in the petition will receive consideration.

Your obedient servant,

J.D. Mclean [signed] Secretary

Messrs. Isaiah Poo-yah-way
George Wah-we-aishking
and others,
Osnaburgh, Via Dinorwic, Ont.

[PAC, RG 10 DIA, microfilm C-11,314]



The Department of Indian Affairs, OTTAWA

Severn Post
District of Patricia
Ontario
29th July, 1915

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you to get some help from the Government. My band of Indians include Weenusk Post, 110 miles east of this place, situated on Hudson's Bay. We would like to join in a treaty as the other Indians at York Factory on the west of us, or Albany, Fort Hope, Osnaburgh, Attawapiscat on the south of us.

We have never been asked to get into any of these treaties. We are practically surrounded by these Indians who get help from the Government, and our hunting grounds in this cold northern climate are very poor, and we would be very pleased to be able to join in any of these Treaties, now that the Hudson's Bay is being approached by railways and white men are coming into this northern country we will be driven from our land.

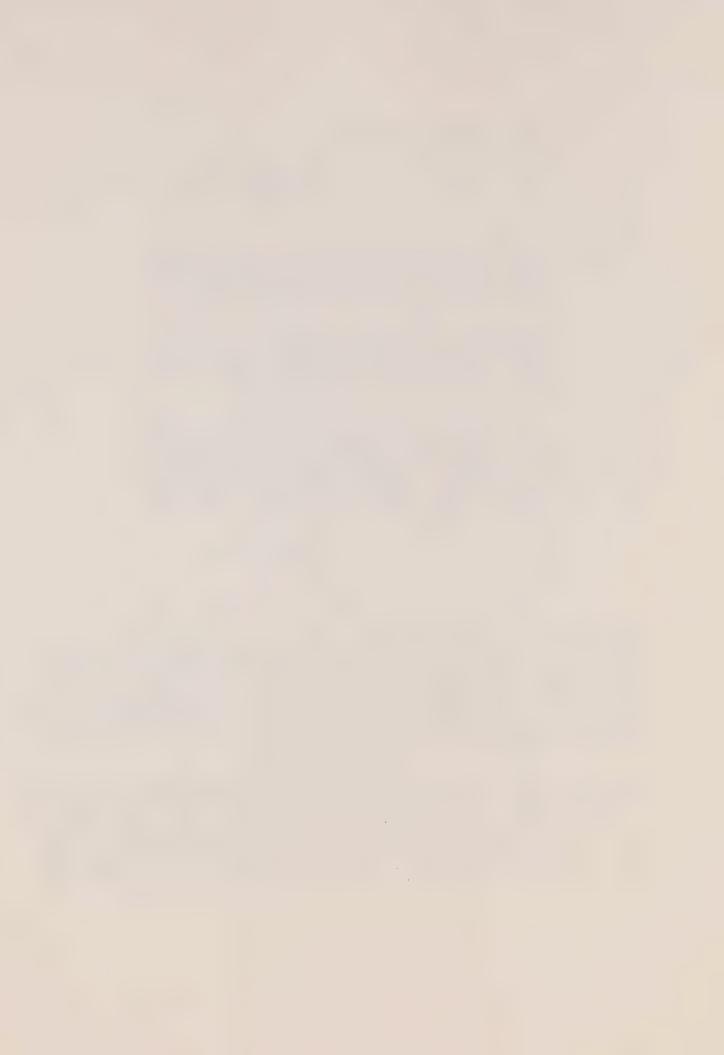
Of course an Indian Agent would have to visit us at Fort Severn and Weenusk as neither York Factory or any of the above mentioned points where Indian Agents the Treaty would be too far and out of the question to as the distance is too great. Trusting we will hear from you a favourable reply as soon as possible. I am getting this written in English so you will understand our situation. There are about 200 Indians and children in my band, amongst them a good many hard up widows which need to be helped as soon as possible.

Yours truly,
[signed in syllabics]
James Stoney

[PAC, RG 10 DIA, microfilm C-11,314]

Implicit in all the Treaties ever made is the acknowledgement that the native people of North America had prior right and title to the land. Had the newcomers <u>not</u> seen the land as belonging to those who occupied it, they would just have moved in, ignoring or exterminating the indigineous people. Treaties were a continuation of the precedent set by the fur companies who either made written agreements with local Indians to lease land in order to establish posts in particular locations or who did so at the request of local peoples and under some form of non-written agreement.

On the other hand, the land of the "New World" had been claimed in the name of European monarchs by right of discovery. It was considered Crown land and the King or Queen had all rights and titles to all upon it and below it including the right to dispose of it as he or she might see fit. Thus by virtue of Royal Charter, the Hudson's Bay Company was given exclusive trading rights and custodianship in the name of the King to all the lands whose waters flowed into Hudson Bay. (At the time, no one had any idea of the



vastness of the area so defined.) They did not own the land.

In addition, the newcomers from the Old World saw the use of land as being define by "improvements" to it such as clearing all the trees, building on it, cultivating fields, etc. Indians that were hunters and gatherers like those in the Boreal Forest, were not seen as actually using the land - only those people further south who cultivated land were seen as using it and the land they used was confined to their cultivated fields, even though they also hunted and fished for part of their livelihood and thus were really using a great deal of other land.

Consequently, an interesting tangle exists: the treaties implicitly and explicitly acknowledge the Indians' rights and claims (which the treaties were extinguishing) to the land the Indians were seen as not using. In any event, the whiteman's concepts of land ownership, land use and land as a commodity for sale and purchase were totally alien concepts to the native mind, but they were the foundations upon which the treaties were based.

Contrary to the opinion of some academics, the Hudson's Bay Company and its personnel did <u>not</u> play an insidious or malevolent role in the making of the treaties. The memorandum from Frank Pedley to Sir Wilfred Laurier in Apply (1977) makes it quite clear that the need and pressures for treaties in the north and west came:

- (a) from increased white activity (both fur trade and non-fur trade) made possible by the railway; and
- (b) from native people themselves as the Osnaburgh and Fort Severn letters demonstrate.

Company personnel at HBC posts were the only people who were familiar with and could communicate with both the government and the Indians. They naturally became the channel of communication between the two. Also, being on the scene they were aware of the potential conflicts and problems that were arising with increasing incursions of Indian territory by white people and the lack of any way to prevent or control such conflict. Inasmuch as the treaties would set down some basic rules and regulations controlling the white incursions and dealings with the Indians, some HBC people strongly supported the idea. They were also aware of the physical suffering of the Indians that occurred from time to time from starvation and disease and although it had always been stated company policy to do as much as was possible to help at such times, they felt that government assistance could do more.

It is to be doubted that the HBC post personnel who were witnesses to the signings grasped the full implications. There is no way that the concepts and details of Treaty 9 could have been understood by the Indians who saw it more as a peace treaty establishing an alliance or connection with promise of support.

After many readings and re-readings of the document known as Treaty #9 and other documents relating to the Treaty found to date, it is clear that:

(i) the intent of the Treaty's creators was, as they quite openly say, to extinguish all Indian claim and title to all the land and to make secure and firmly entrench in a legal document all possible



present and future uses of the land by the government and people of Ontario; and

(ii) the Treaty was drawn up by someone(s) who had absolutely no concept of the reality of the land and its peoples - the latter actually were irrelevant as the purpose of the treaty was something else:

(iii) as the Pedley-Laurier memo and the 1924 Indian Land Agreement between the federal government and the province of Ontario indicate, those in the provincial government wanted absolute and total clear right and title to every square inch of land and the federal government could go fly a kite and as for the Indians ... what's an Indian? The Dominion government as direct representatives of the Queen or King in England were trying to make a treaty "nation to nation", but the provincial government had to be coaxed, cajoled and coerced into acknowledging the Indians and assuming their share of and role in the agreement; the resulting document taken around for the Indians to sign was drafted to be agreeable to the province of Ontario.

The first thing the Treaty did was create "Bands" of Indians — i.e., groups of people that did not in reality exist as a group. The Fort Hope Treaty "Band" included those family bands who traditionally met at Eabamet Lake in the summer plus all other family bands who happened to trade at Fort Hope. The latter included the Attawapiscat Lake people (Lansdowne House) and the Winisk Lake people (Webequie), Maminiska Lake people, Macocabaton Lake people. The Eabamet Lake people totalled about 100 at the time. All those who traded at the Fort Hope post on Eabamet Lake totalled 500.

The second thing the Treaty did was create reserves of land [little square islands within this vast new sea called Ontario] for each Treaty "Band" equivalent to one square mile per family of five based on the "Band's" population at the time of the signing of the Treaty. Thus an area of 100 square miles on the north shore of Eabamet Lake was set aside for the people of the newly-created Fort Hope "Band," 80% of whom never came anywhere near Eabamet Lake except to the HBC post twice a year.

The reserves were to be tracts of land that were "safe" zones where Indians couldn't be molested by white people. However, the land that comprised the Reserve was not to be the Indians' land in the sense that they owned it; $\underline{1.e.}$ had exclusive rights and title to it. The government owned and had jurisdiction over that land too - reserves were just areas designated for special use or non-use like Clergy Reserves and Crown Game Preserves.

It was not until 1924 that the province of Ontario finally agreed that these little islands of land were federal land not provincial land. The only reason they agreed to that concept was the assurance that the instant the Indians either disappeared or had no further use for a "reserve" they would revert to being provincial crown land - i.e., swallowed up by the vast sea of Ontario.

The third thing the Treaty did was create Chiefs and Councils. What the authors of the Treaty thought they were doing by creating elected Chiefs and Councils is anyone's guess - unless they thought that the "savages" lived totally without any form of "government" of their own or that all "savages"

16 Which supports the conclusion that the drifting was related to booze.

17 The advocates of overhunting and extermination of wildlife in the 1800's must explain why moose returned when people were better equipped than they'd ever been to exterminate them.

had Chiefs and Councils just because some who they were familiar with did. However, formal Chiefs and Councils and the concept of voting and majority rule were totally alien concepts to the native people of the Boreal Forest who operated by consensus which operated within the socio-political reality of small family bands. Each band was totally autonomous and the only ties that existed between bands were those of kinship. In any case, the created Chiefs and Councils had no power - although they could make Band Council Resolutions (BCR's) such legislation had to be ratified by DIAND.

The visit of the Treaty Commission in 1905 also commenced offical "government health care" for native people although for many years this was to consist of the inclusion of a medical person with the annual Treaty Party.

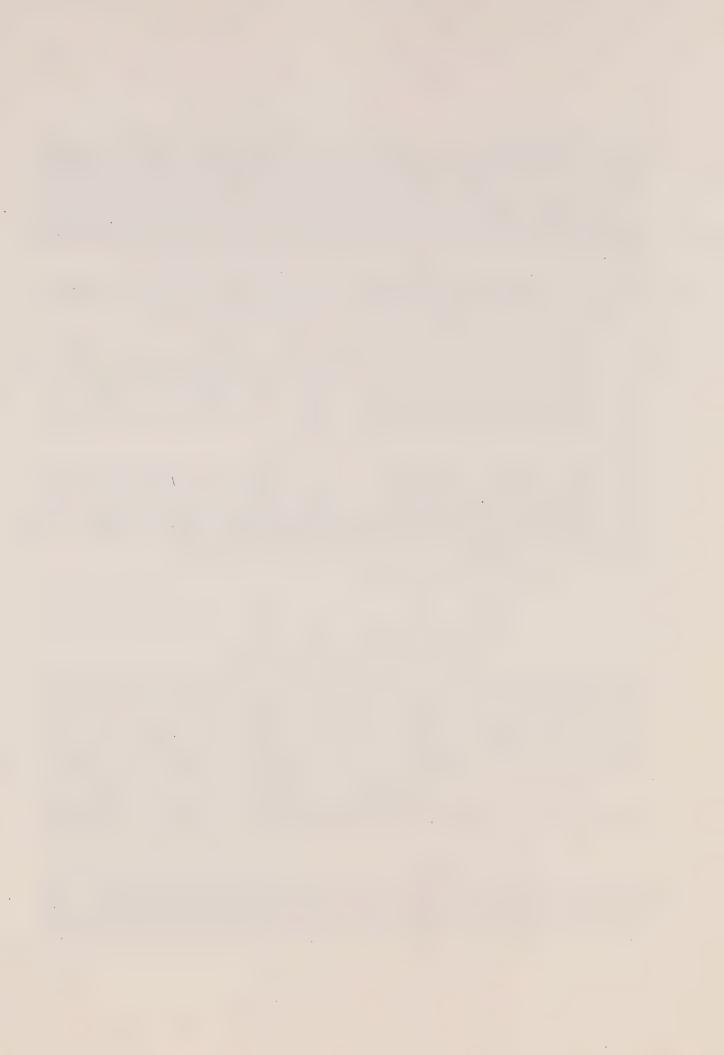
It would be years before the Reserves had any significance to the people or before the "Chiefs and Councils" had anything to do except on such ceremonial occasions as Treaty time once a year. The payment of the initial gratuity of \$8 per person, and the annual gathering "to see if the Treaty still held" and receive the annuity of \$4 if it did, was probably the most significant thing to the "party of the second part".

The treaties seem to have had one positive effect. The establishment of government jurisdiction over the territory and over the Indians did exert some measure of control over white activity (e.g., the establishment of the North West Mounted Police and the driving of the U.S. whiskey traders from the prairies). The drifters settled down and the warfare and raiding between native people stopped.

THE POST-WORLD WAR I PERIOD

The mechanization of industry in the mid-1800's gained increasing momentum and brought rapid technological change to the entire world accompanied by a parallel scramble for the earth's resources to feed the factories. Warfare, resulting from disagreements over who was to have these resources, gave added impetus to technological change. The Treaty, with its careful wording to include all potential resources that the land might contain, was a part of this scramble. In general, the years following the Treaty are marked by: increasing exploration and development of the north's forest, mineral and hydro-electric resources; the decreasing economic importance of the north's furs; and increasing government rules, regulations, licensing and monitoring of all natural resources.

By the 1930's, native people had begun to take advantage of the technological change and acquired wooden canoes, outboard motors and the new rifles, but as with the introduction of metal tools three to four centuries before, they used these things for old purposes and in the old ways. Although some native people participated in the wage employment offered by the mines, increased



freight hauling, guiding, surveying, mineral exploration and later fire fighting and treeplanting, from the point of view of most of the people throughout the Boreal Forest, not much of any great significance happened until the 1930's which brought the first faint rays of the dawn of Today: the changes made possible by motorized flight.

The airplane overcame the environmental limits of routes, distances and seasons that the fur trade had always had to cope with although freeze-up and break-up still presented a barrier. When river systems had been the only way of moving across the land, the variety and quantity of goods and the frequency with which they could be brought into the posts was severely restricted. It was enough of a job to haul trade goods in and furs out without worrying about food supplies for post personnel. Other than very basics such as tea and flour, they were expected to fend for themselves by hunting, fishing and later agricultural endeavours. (They never seem to have been very competent at the first two activities and frequently relied on the Indians for food.) The airplane (as well as tractor trains) gradually changed all that and foodstuffs became a more important part of a post's inventory and agricultural activities dwindled. As this happened, winter starvation became less of a threat.

The addition of food to the stock of a post was partly due to the fact that as more white people came into the north, they depended on the Bay for at least some of their supplies. As this happened, money eventually replaced the beaver as the medium of exchange. The 1891 Inspection Report for the Albany posts recorded that at Fort Albany "scarcely any cash (was) used, and the balance on hand \$31.87 was found correct." (HBC Archives, D.25/14 1891) By the 1930's and 40's, this was beginning to change.

Planes made it easier for white people to come into the north - access was no longer confined to those with the time, resources and physical constitution to undertake lengthy canoe treks. Sportsmen began to come for hunting and fishing. The plane also introduced "commercial fishing". Pilots would backhaul fish (particularly Albany sturgeon) for which they paid the Indians 2¢ to 3¢ a pound.

Planes not only permitted more people to come into the north, they made it possible for native people to go out. The seriously ill began to be taken to outside hospitals and the government made a concerted effort to eliminate tuberculosis (another imported European disease) by taking people out to sanitoriums. Missionaries and churches became more firmly entrenched than ever before. Aided by the airplane, they were now able to exert the most powerful force for change that they had yet been able to manage and that the people of the north had thus far experienced. Planes made possible the residential schools and parents were subjected to all the persuasion the missionaries could muster to send their children out to schools funded by the government and operated by the churches.

re-form them.

concentration camp: A place of detention for political prisoners, aliens and the like.

brainwash: to change attitudes or beliefs; controlled indoctrination.

¹⁸ reformatory: An institution for the reformation and instruction of juvenile offenders.

Clearly Indian children were "juvenile offenders" - they offended Christian sensibilities by being pagan and uncivilized. It was therefore necessary to re-form them.

Although a few parents agreed to send their children, many would not allow them to go or the children themselves refused to go. Children that did go often stayed for only a few years then did not return either because of illness in the family or the inability to face further separation from their families. No one took into account that children were an integral part of the tightly knit economic unit that was the family band. Families needed their children's work in order to survive just as much as farm families did at the same period in time.

The only happy memory associated with residential schools seems to be arriving home from them in the summer. The schools were modelled along the exact same lines as reformatories and concentration camps $^{\text{IS}}$:

- ...they were highly regimented and operated by means of external discipline;
- ... Indian children of all ages from all communities were thrown together:
- ...inmates were confined to the premises;
- ...inmates were punished if they spoke in their native tongue;
- ... rigid segregation of the sexes was maintained regardless of kinship relations and obligations that might exist;
- ...the compulsory labour of the inmates helped run and maintain the establishment:
- ...the custodians attempted to brainwash 19 the inmates with the values, beliefs and knowledge of an alien culture -

Pagans must first be Christianized and baptized in the waters of life; then they at once become tame and civilized, and may be easily taught habits of industry and frugality.

... they are inviting subjects for civilization, missionary zeal, and missionary enterprise. They may be civilized, Christianized; and become good citizens, good mechanics, good agriculturists, and good subjects to the government under which they live.

[Van Dusen, 1867, pp. 5 & 3]

...inmates occasionally escaped - some were caught and returned to school - some died in the attempt to return home.

It is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion about the residential schools than that they were a conscious and deliberate attempt to undermine and irradicate the Indian culture and way of life and therefore stamp out once and for all what was labelled "paganism" by removing children from their social, cultural and natural environment and forcing their growth in a different direction. And it might have worked - had children not been allowed to go home for the summers and had there been someplace besides home for them to go when they had "served their time". But there wasn't and they returned home where they faced life with knowledge and skills for which there was no use, without the knowledge and skills necessary to survive in the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest ecosystem as their ancestors had done and with very weakly developed cultural roots.

More than any other factor, education and the institution of school were to have the most serious influence on native people, their lifeways, their



culture and their livelihood. The Indian child learned how to live in the Boreal Forest by observing and doing, virtually from the day he was born. Schools and classrooms not only operate on the opposite principle, but they interrupted the traditional enculturation process and disrupted the native economy. Children that only attended school for a few years were able to become re-integrated into the traditional enculturation process, but the option of not going to school or only going for a few years ended in 1945. Family Allowance payments provided the means whereby parents were forced to send their children to school until they were 16 years old.

The 30-year period between the start of World War I and the end of World War II had a devastating effect on western society and culture, challenging and changing the system of knowledge, beliefs, values and ways by which the whiteman had hitherto lived. The distinctly uncivilized practise of removing children from their families and communities gave way to the more enlightened practise of building elementary schools in the communities. In 1955 a day school was built in Fort Hope and elementary school pupils no longer had to leave their families, but this did nothing to alleviate the effects of forced education on the native culture and economy. For over three centuries, Indian people, their culture and economy had managed to survive despite disease, booze and attempts to stamp out "paganism" — not all had been victims of disease, not everyone chose to follow the Alcohol Path, nor did everyone choose to attend the churches and of those who did, the Christian message was modified by their own terms and understanding. But government policy dictated that no one escaped the net of education.

Despite the beginnings of Indian education, the basic Boreal Forest lifeway did not substantially change until after World War II - people still struggled within the restrictions and with the problems presented by schools and education and maintained their traditional ways. After all, what choice did they have? What else were they to do? They still had to eat and the Great White Fathers in Ottawa hadn't sent Meals-on-Wheels when they took the children away.

Prior to the post-World War II era, not all, but most of the changes in people's lives did not involve all that radical a departure from the way things had always been. Aside from the Ogoki Diversion and several mines in area, the natural environment remained the same, the ways of successfully surviving in that environment remained unchanged and the knowledge and wisdom of the elders and ages past still applied. What changes had occurred had come widely-spaced in time and had been adjusted to without disturbing the basic pattern of Boreal Forest lifeways which, after all, were an adaptation to change.

One of the integral aspects of the cultural adaptation to change was individual and family autonomy. Along with the moderate rate of change, this autonomy was responsible for the persistence of the native lifeway up to the present time. By virtue of their culture and lifeways, individuals and families were empowered to make the decisions concerning their own lives. They were free to accept or reject the changes brought by the whiteman and if they accepted them, it was they themselves that decided when and where. Thus changes were natural changes, coming from within individuals. (As opposed to the type of change, like education, that is imposed or forced upon people from the outside.)



THE POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD

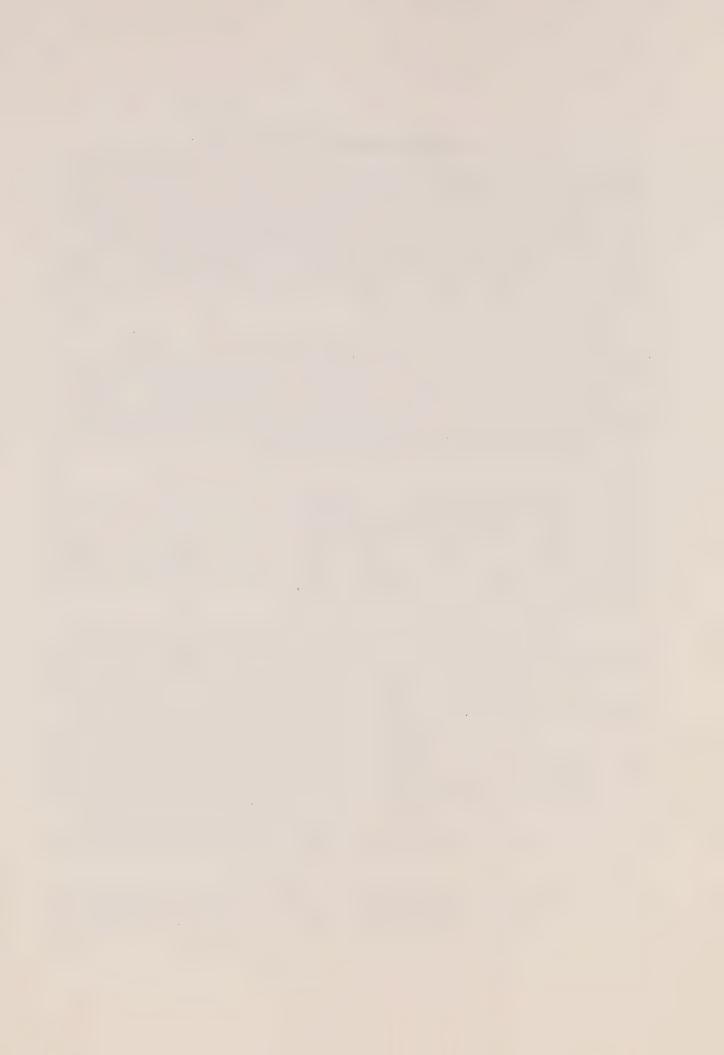
The end of World War II was the beginning of a very rapid end to the traditional lifeways of Ontario's northern native people. In July 1945, the federal government began Family Allowance payments which were contingent upon school attendance. Although the monthly cheque enhanced short term survival now that posts stocked more foodstuffs, sending children off to residential schools from ages 5 to 16 guaranteed the non-survival of traditional ways in the long term. In 1947, these ways were further restricted when the Department of Lands and Forests instituted traplines and trapping licenses.

But the real death blow to the traditional lifeways came in the 1950's as elementary day schools were established on the Reserves. Although children no longer had to be separated from their families until they reached high school age, the families were forced to stay in one place in order to look after the children - this spelled disaster for the traditional economy which depended on mobility. Concommitant with the establishment of day schools was the distribution of DIAND food rations.

With the establishment of Reserve day schools, the family bands began to settle down for most of the year in small clumps of log cabins nearby. This concentration of population was intensified in the 1960's with the commencement of "planned communities" of band-administered, subsidized housing centred around larger, more modern schools and nursing stations. Diesel generators and water and sewage installations serviced the latter as well as the residences built to accommodate their staffs.

Meanwhile, the "people south of 50° " steadily reached further and further north for forest, mineral and water resources. Roads pushed northwards and in 1969 work was begun on the first airstrips in the larger communities such as Sandy and Big Trout Lakes. Road and airstrip construction continued to the present time - as did mineral exploration. By the mid-70's: timber limits had been extended north to the Albany in the north central region; plans were afoot to extend them even further north in the case of Reed Paper in the north western region; and Telesat Canada had begun to install satellite receiving dishes throughout the north which established telephone and television links with the outside world. In 1983, TV Ontario also commenced building receiving dishes in the communities. In person and via telecommunications, white people and their culture steadily advanced and intrude upon the lives of northern native people.

Concommitant with these major physical changes, there came a plethora of government-sponsored community and economic "development" programs and changes in policies and legislation effecting native people. In 1954 and



1960, native people were given the right to vote in provincial and federal elections respectively. With the "planned communities" came a need for local administration. In 1965, five Indian bands in Canada were given a total of \$20,000. to manage on their own. By 1975, 400 bands were administering a total of \$100,000,000. in core funding. Countless more millions of dollars were supporting the operations of DIAND and the people themselves via welfare and social assistance payments. (Provincial welfare was extended to Ontario's native people in 1960.) The "planned communities" were constructed of imported materials (in many cases brought in by air) and life in them was also dependent upon the importation of almost all goods and services.

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The foregoing is a very brief outline of the major changes encountered by the people of Ontario's Boreal Forest since the end of World War II. On the surface, each appears relatively simple and straightforward; but human lives and culture are very complex and each seemingly simple change had deep, reverberating effects upon the people, their culture and their traditional lifeways - effects that were far greater than all previous changes taken together.

The family band was an autonomous, independent and tightly-knit social, cultural and economic unit wherein each individual took his or her adult place after a lengthy apprenticeship that began at birth. Sending children away to residential schools began to unravel the social, cultural and economic threads of the people's lives. The band was deprived of part of the manpower it needed for survival and the "apprenticeships" that ensured its future survival were interrupted - children did not learn what they needed to know in order to survive in their home environment and what they did learn was of very little use when they returned home. The loss of most of their native language ensured the loss of their cultural heritage.

Survival in the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest ecosystem demanded daily foraging and constant mobility as dictated by the seasons and the availability of resources. Survival was impossible as dictated by DIAND and MNR and restricted to Reserves and traplines. The switch from a semi-nomadic to a sedentary lifestyle brought about by Reserve day schools spelled the end of the traditional livelihood - and of the self-reliance and independence of the people. Although a certain amount of the livelihood of the communities today still comes from the land, the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest ecosystem will not support large, sedentary groups of humans.

Today, the few remaining trappers fly to their traplines from their communities. The additional cost puts a greater strain on both the trapper and the natural resources. The recent establishment of quotas for traplines



(as if they were some sort of factory) runs counter to the native trapper's traditional approach of taking only what was needed to live from day to day and to cover his debt and any other costs.

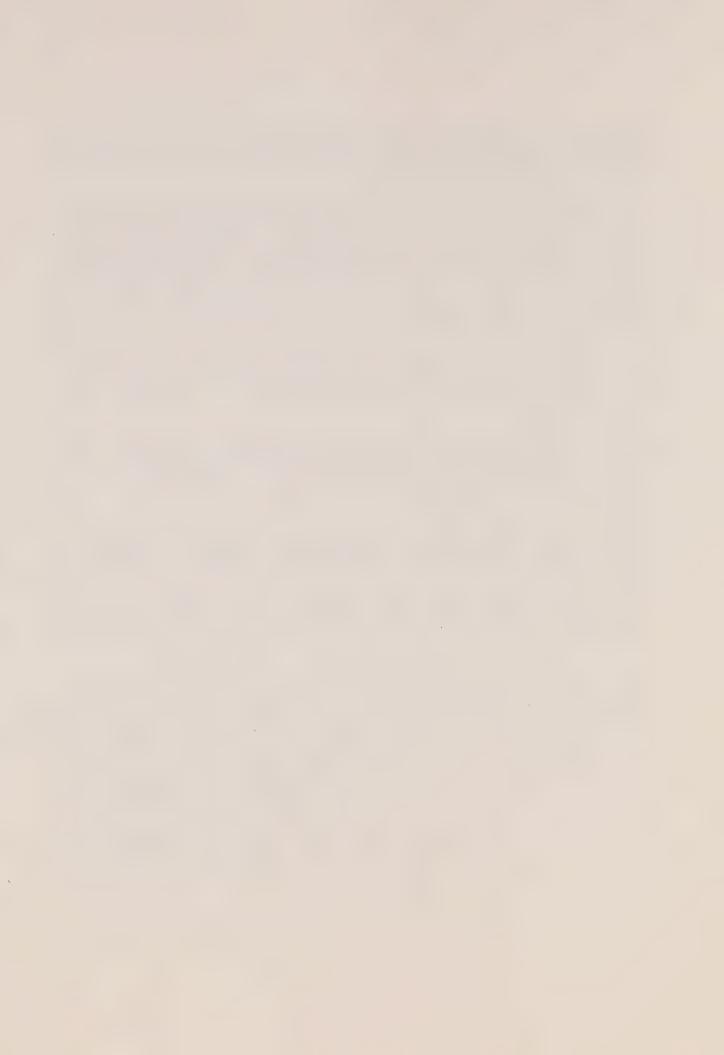
Destruction of the traditional means of gaining a livelihood was not only an economic disaster, but a social, psychological and physical one as well for people who had hitherto lived by almost steady work from sunup to sundown day after day. Although some families moved to take advantage of wage labour at mines or elsewhere in the north, and although the growing "planned communities" offered some full-time and sporadic temporary wage labour, for the native population as a whole (which began to increase), there was no economy except that provided by the whiteman's transfer payments, welfare and social assistance which, of course, required no activity except just existing. This situation alone provided the foundation for the social, alcohol and other problems with which the communities were and are plagued.

Upon this foundation, the whiteman's school system, a total change in the enculturation process, very swiftly produced a structure of sub-cultures within each community which gave rise to further social problems and hastened the process of social and cultural disintegration.

The first day school graduates went out to residential high schools, but throughout the 1960's the latter were phased out and high school pupils began to be sent to regular high schools in northern towns where they boarded with white families. By the end of the decade, their exposure to the values and ways of the "hippy" sub-culture outside was manifesting itself on the Reserves in the form of drugs, alcohol, glue and gas sniffing, vandalism and a rejection of parental mores.

They were also caught up in the social activism of the 1960's, one focal point of which was native North Americans. They learned to exploit their Indian-ness and to demand their "aboriginal rights" - though hard put to define precisely of what those rights consisted. Ironically, their own values were almost totally white: money, pleasure, ease and all the modern material conveniences. Although they frequently (and publicly) bemoaned the passing of native culture, they had never experienced traditional lifeways, knew little about them and lacked patience with and respect for their own elders and their values, beliefs and ways. They were the people, aided and abetted by white "political missionaries", who met the increasing northward incursions of white society with the formation of Grand Council Treaty #9 in 1973. Today, most community chiefs are those who served an "apprenticeship" in the Treaty #9 organization.

By 1970, then, three distinct sub-cultures had emerged in the northern com-



munities by virtue of the change that schools made in the enculturation process:

- ...the <u>Traditional</u> generation born prior to 1930, they were raised and lived in the traditional way, experiencing no white schooling and speaking no English; in spite of their lack of formal education, they are much more aware of what is going on than anyone supposes; they have no problems managing money and they know how to work they are the only genuine Indians left today;
- ...the <u>Transitional</u> generation born between 1930 and 1950, they received part of their enculturation in traditional ways and part via the residential schools; they speak both languages and have the knowledge and skills to be able to function in both native and white worlds; their values are those of their elders and they are a stabilizing force within the communities.

(It is now being recognized that they received better schooling in the residential schools than succeeding generations have. Their similarity to the elders appears to arise from the fact that in the residential schools they were exposed to many of the same values and standards that were implicit in traditional ways - e.g., honesty, hard work, respect for elders, etc.)

...the <u>Troubled</u> generation - those born between 1950 and 1965 who went through the Reserve day schools and who have known no other life than that of the Reserve; elsewhere the authors have tagged these people "Whindians" because culturally they are neither white nor Indian but a bastardized combination of both, fitting into neither world; among the Whindians are found the highest percentage of unemployed and the highest percentage of alcohol problems, marriage breakdowns, child neglect, etc.

Like day schools, the advent of television in the mid-70's generated another great change in the enculturation process as TV became what Buckminster Fuller has called the "third parent". By 1980 a fourth and possibly fifth subculture had arisen:

- ...the <u>TV</u> generation those born after the introduction of television and growing up with it as part of their environment; it is far too early to say what this generation will turn out to be like, but in 1980, preschoolers clearly showed the effects of exposure to TV in their speach, knowledge, confidence with and orientation to white culture; with this generation, the language is being irrevocably lost and with it, all knowledge of the culture which can no longer be transmitted by the elders:
- ... between the Whindian and TV generations there appears to be a fifth sub-culture which might be termed Transitional II although in time

It is probably safe to say that most of the increase has occurred since the end of World War II. The figure 4,404 corresponds well with estimates: by Winterhalder of how many people the environment will support; by Rogers of how many square miles of territory are required to support one person; and by Duncan Cameron of the total population in the NWC's Nipigon district at the beginning of the 19th century. Conditions of life in the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest ecosystem set the limits upon population growth.

(880. 8 sq. mi. = 0.98% of the "90,000 square miles more or less" within which the Treaty was extinguishing Indian claims.)

it may be seen that they are really only the vanguard of the TV generation; although not raised with TV, it came along early enough in their lives to be of influence; they are serious-minded, determined and many have clearly-defined goals while also manifesting much of the confidence of the TV generation.

Members of the last two groups seem to have a much greater chance of educational success and it may well be that they end up leaving the northern communities to live and work in the south.

With no economic foundation, the communities are like a building suspended in mid-air. The evolution of sub-cultures partitioned the building into four or five distinct rooms. The "planned communities" racked and twisted it in all directions.

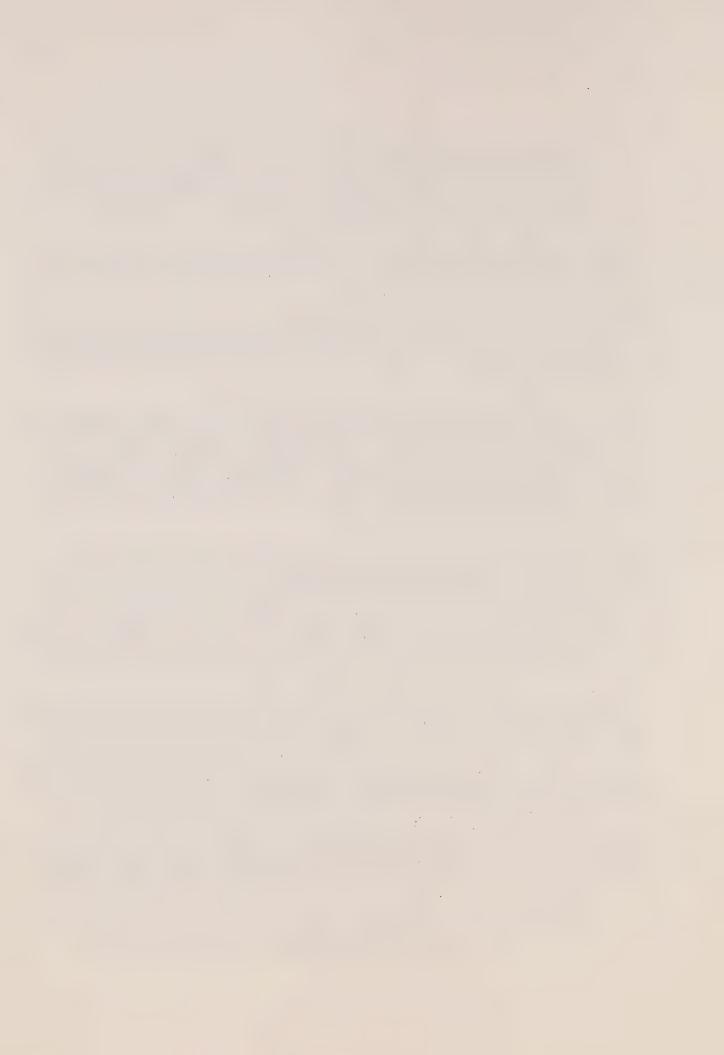
Built in a densely-packed, urban pattern, designed for nuclear families and allotted on a 'first come, first served' basis, the subsidized native housing broke up the extended family units, leaving their segments randomly scattered throughout the village. This alone contributed to social disintegration, but that was not all - the density of this random distribution of families defied the traditional socio-cultural mechanisms whereby people related to, interacted with and avoided each other.

Quite apart from social considerations, the villages are frequently poorlysited so that excavation and frost are problems. The houses themselves are little more than plywood boxes with a lifespan of about ten years. They are neither as well designed, constructed or adapted to the people and the climate as the smaller log structures which they replaced and which had been built by the people themselves of local materials. (In locations and arrangements that reflected their relationships with each other.)

The housing situation is worsened by two other factors: the lack of water and sewage servicing and the lack of funding to build enough houses. The latter factor results in overcrowding of existing housing which in turn exacerbates the community social problems. Neither of these two problems show any sign of abating given current levels of funding, the current economic climate and the increasing populations of the communities.

Based on the total area of the Reserves in the Treaty #9 area (880.8 sq. mi.) and the Treaty allotment of one suare mile per family of five, the native population at the beginning of this century was approximately 4, 404. In 1980 it had increased fivefold to approximately 20,000. Several factors appear to be responsible:

... certain hazards involved in the traditional lifeways were eliminated or reduced by the change in lifeways after World War II;



- ... medical care, food rations and various forms of welfare not only ensured the survival of most children that were born, but made it economically advantageous to have as many children as possible, with or without marriage;
- ...the swithch from the breast-feeding to the bottle-feeding of infants which eliminated a natural control of the birth rate; and
- ... western medical technology which kept people alive who might have died from disease or injury in earlier times.

In addition to problems created by the physical aspects of the village, another set of problems arose from the control and administration of an increasing number of people. The chiefs and councils designated at the time of the Treaty were in fact the headmen of the bands gathered to meet the Treaty Commisioner. (Duncan Campbell Scott, the Treaty Commissioner recognized this, but the record-keepers in Ottawa did not.) It will be remembered that each band was totally autonomous and that "decision-making" was a process of consensus whereby each member participated and each concluded with the same thing in his or her mind. The election process was contrary to the traditional ways. The concept of majority rule and outside control was contrary to operating by consensus and to individual and family autonomy. Thus the imposed Chief and Council structure didn't function well as the necessity for a local administrative and decision-making authority increased throughout the post-World War II period and the role of chiefs and councils became more prominent. Also, the concensus process was difficult to maintain as the population expanded and as the outside government expected instant decisions.

As Whindians became the chiefs and councillors, local government worked even less well. Their orientation was political - power, control and privilege - as opposed to the civil authority which the councils are supposed to be. Their orientation was also outside the community and they were sadly out of touch with the "grass roots".

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In summary, the post-World War II period brought the people 'north of 50°' very rapid, externally-induced change which has had disasterous and disintegrative effects.



CONCLUSIONS

This paper has been an attempt to tell the story of the people "north of 50° in an effort to better understand them as they are today. It is neither as comprehensive nor as detailed as the story actually is. Hitherto the tale has been told only in bits and pieces - each author intent on his own small and/or specialized collection of information with little effort to relate it to others' collections or others' disciplines, much less to reality or what the people themselves have to say. Consequently, the overall story of Ontario's people "north of 50°" and their relationships with their environment and other groups of native people has never been told. This paper has been a beginning.

Yet it is a very important story for all the people of Ontario. It tells us much about the province's northern environment and man's interrelation—ship with that environment. It is also a mirror in which the people "south of 506" may see reflected their own cultural values and attitudes—by contrast with those of native people and by their interactions with them and their environment in the past. It is a particularly valuable reflection because the consequences of the values and attitudes can also be seen.

We are all in the middle of the story today. If we don't begin to understand the plot as it has been written so far, the story will have a tragic ending for both protagonists.

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There can be no better illustration of environmental imperatives and parameters than is found in the prehistory and history of the Canadian Shield/Boreal Forest. The human lifeway that developed within its constraints reflects the complexity and fragility of the northern portion of Ontario. The contrast with the lifeways of the Iroquoian peoples in the southern portion of the province illustrates the great deal of difference between the northern and southern environments - what works in the south will not necessarily

work in the north; <u>e.g.</u>, fur 'management'. There is a great need for caution in any kind of industrial development regardless of scale and in environmental 'management' strategies and land use planning.

Human survival in the Boreal Forest was contingent upon first acknowledging environmental realities and imperatives, then managing their lives accordingly - <u>i.e.</u>, native people <u>managed themselves</u>, not the environment. They did so successfully for 8,000 years by being constantly attentive to and acquiring an intimate knowledge of the environment.

The most enlightened part of mankind, I am persuaded, cannot be more exact in their mode of judging, nor more attentive to the works of nature."

All that exists of that environmental knowledge is within the minds and memories of the elders that still survive. Their number is rapidly dwindling and within 20 to 30 years they will be gone - taking their knowledge with them.

Although urban living tends to produce the illusion that people are no longer dependent on nature, modern industrial man is just as dependent on a healthy natural environment as the people of the Boreal Forest were. No amount of book learning, no amount of observation of plants and animals in artificial lab conditions can be an effective substitute for personal experience; and no amount of personal experience can touch the knowledge a person must have if their day to day, season to season survival has depended on their ability to read, recall and heed the "book of nature". The table below contrasts the Boreal Forager with the Boreal Forester.

BOREAL FORAGER*

- · EXPLOITED MULTIPLE PATCH-TYPES
- · EXPLOITED MULTIPLE SPECIES
- GATHERED MOST READILY OBTAINABLE RE-SOURCES - EFFICIENT IN TERMS OF ENERGY EXPENDED FOR ENERGY GAINED
- · TOOK ONLY WHAT WAS NEEDED DAILY
- ·CONTINUALLY MONITORED DYNAMIC INTER-RELATIONSHIPS AND ACTED ACCORDINGLY
- · SEMI-NOMADIC OPERATIONS
 - * root word = FORAGE : verb

BOREAL FORESTER**

- · EXPLOITS SINGLE PATCH TYPES
- · EXPLOITS SINGLE SPECIES
- DESTROYS OTHER SPECIES AS WELL AS HABITAT FOR STILL OTHERS TOTAL ENERGY SO EXPENDED, PLUS THAT RESUIRED TO REACH & RETURN FROM EVER-RECEDING RESOURCE, EXCEEDS ENERGY GAIN
- · TAKES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE TO PRODUCE AN EVEL - INCREASING SURPLUS BEYOND IMMEDIATE NEEDS
- ·TAKES A STATIC, INVENTORY APPROACH TO DYNAMIC INTERRELATIONSHIPS PERIODICALLY COUNTING, A SELECTED ASSOCTMENT OF THINGS! TREES, WILD-LIFE, DOLLARS; ACTS ACCORDING TO PROJECTED OR DESIRED TOTALS SO OBTAINED
- · SEDENTARY OPERATIONS
 - ** root word = FOREST = noun



The diametrical opposition of the two approaches to the natural environment makes it doubtful if the Boreal Foresters will survive for 8,000 years. It is often argued that the Indians didn't harm the environment because they didn't have the technology to do so. But the differences between the forager and the forester have nothing to do with technology. They stem from a totally different way of understanding the environment, human beings and the interrelationship between the two. Native people saw themselves as being in and an integral part of the natural world and they understood this world as a dynamic, living thing whereas western, scientific man has always regarded himself as the pinnacle of the evolutionary process, standing above and outside of nature, seeing everything else as a collection of static objects to be counted and manipulated as he sees fit.

The myriad dynamic processes and interrelationships that constitute what is termed the "natural environment" must be understood and that understanding used to determine and govern resource policies and strategies, not production quotas derived from inventories of objects seen as if they were static, fixed, immutable. The whiteman, like the Indian, must live according to the laws of nature.

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The problems in the northern communities today may be traced to (a) the Treaty and (b) the subsequent interventions by government into the lives of the people. The Treaty was made in the reign of Edward VII at the peak of British colonial expansion and on the eve of a second wave of technological change that would revolutionize industry, trade and commerce. Queen Victoria had died in 1901; Cecil Rhodes in 1902. In 1903, the Wright Brothers accomplished the first manned flight and the Ford Motor Company began production. The Panama Canal was begun in 1904; Rudyard Kipling won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1907.

Seen in its cultural and historical context—as an aspect of British colonial policy and practise, the document is typical of European and North American values and worlview at the time. It was created out of ignorance of indigenous peoples, their lifeways and environments, and it mirrors the western world's finely-honed sense of superiority and self-righteousness over "primitive pagans". Its purpose was to secure vast areas of natural wealth for the whiteman.

The authors think of Treaty #9 as The Great Land Grab in which the Party of the Second Part was hornswoggled by the Party of the First Part. It is not possible that the Indians understood what they were signing: (a) because the concepts cannot be translated into Cree or Ojibwa and (b) even those individuals today who have had the benefit of white schooling and can read the Treaty do not understand its full implications. Considering the customs of

- The bitter irony of this situation is seen in a current Oxfam TV ad which states that "third world people want to be self-sufficient" - they were self-sufficient until the whiteman began to interfere.
- They are currently being subjected by DIAND to the "expertise" of <u>urban</u> planners whose track record in real urban centres has not always been so good and whose solutions to everything are greater urbanization. Urban planners are no more aware of the northern environment and its imperatives than the economic experts who established commercial fishing on inland lakes. Thus there is a real danger to the communites that this greater urbanization will bring environmental damage.

the people at the time, it is doubtful that the headmen of the gathered bands had the authority to sign the Treaty without full discussion with and the consensus of their respective groups. In general, it would seem from what todays elders say, that the Indians thought they were simply signing a peace treaty agreeing to live peacably as equals alongside the whiteman.

The creation of Treaty-designated "bands" and their respective reserves of land was not based on the reality of the social groupings that existed - thus today some groups have no official status as "bands" and no land at all.

In one fell swoop, the establishment of Reserve day schools severed the people of the Boreal Forest from their traditional economy (in pursuit of which they were quite self-sufficient) and from the whiteman's economy. In pursuit of their traditional livelihood they had productively participated in the white economy on their own terms as trappers and seasonal wage labourers. No doubt the rationale for the schools was to enable them to participate in the whiteman's economy - but as whitemen and on the whiteman's terms. However, it did not work out that way and as sedentary villagers they became a perpetual drain on the economy.

An urban lifeway, with its dense concentration of population, presupposes:

- (a) agriculture which provides the food surplus to support a sedentary population that is not directly engaged in food production; and
- (b) manufacturing, trade and commerce.

The revenue generated by the latter activities provides the tax base whereby city residents are provided with certain services such as roads, water, police and fire protection, sewers, etc. - without which it is not possible for humans to live in such close proximity.

The northern "planned communities" are purely artificial creations that have no agriculture, trade commerce or industry...hence no tax base. Their continuing existence and that of their residents depends on a continuing flow of capital, supplies and services from the outside world. They are like a patient attached to a full complement of life support systems in a hospital - and could not survive if any of these life support systems were disconnected. Living with all the "mod. cons." of a Torontonian in the middle of the bush is just not feasible. The basic and multiple other dys-economies of trying to do so absolutely boggles the mind. The "planned communities" are simply not viable. 3

It cannot be said that the lack of economic base went unnoticed - the endless community and economic development programs of the 60's and 70's indicate otherwise. However, the programs were ill-conceived, under-funded and lacked continuity and overall coordination.



Thus the people "north of 50°" find themselves today in a state of limbo. The traditional economy or "living off the land" is not a viable option for them - not only does the present native population far exceed the carrying capacity of the environment to support the traditional foraging lifeway, but the requisite knowledge, skills and desire to do so are no longer present in most of the population. To continue in the present fashion is equally not a viable option for economic, psychological and social reasons.

Does this provide a case for further industrial development in the north? The authors do not feel that it does. As the Fort Hope SEE Impact Study indicated, no amount of resource development will provide the number of jobs that are needed. In addition, the enculturation the younger generations have had has not produced a labour force that knows how to work. When all factors are taken into account, resource development would benefit only a few individuals at the cost of having further disintegrative effects on many others and on the communities as a whole.

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Ontario's northern native people were catapulted into the 20th century after World War II. They have been subjected to an overwhelming amount of change since that time. However, outward change is not indicative of inward change. The latter is a slow, incremental, generation to generation process which cannot be forced. Cataclysmic outward change only brings about inward shock. The northern people and their communities are in a mess that will require a lot more thought and genuine planning than has hitherto been shown.



RECOMMENDATIONS

There are no instant solutions to any of the problems faced by the "people north of 50° " today. Specific recommendations herein should be regarded only as tentative suggestions and possibilities.

Reflection upon the post-World War II period makes it clear that there are certain general principles and objectives to adhere to in the future if the situation in which the people find themselves today is not to become worse. First and foremost is that the path into the future must be walked by white and Indian working together side by side. This does not mean that the Indian must become white - on the contrary, he must retain his own cultural heritage and identity while participating as fully as he chooses in modern industrial society. To this end:

- ... everything that can possibly be done to promote better mutual understanding between the two partners must be done;
- ... everything possible must also be done to do whatever is necessary to ensure that native people can operate competently and confidently in a world that has become a 'global village';
- ... part of the preceding involves doing everything possible to preserve as much of traditional native culture and knowledge as can yet be accomplished in the short time remaining to do so;
- ... white people, particularly those in government, must shed any lingering Victorian and Edwardian notions of superiority and paternalism;
- ...the people south must learn to genuinely listen and be willing to learn what the people north have to teach them about themselves and their environment;
- ... the whiteman must overcome the biases and unrealities in his own traditional cultural frame of reference...

- 1 Henderson, p. 12
- 2 World Press Review, November 1983, pp. 8-9

global interdependencies that we have created, and to deal with the first law of ecology—"everything is connected to everything else"—we must first reintegrate ourselves. Whether it is mind or body, "we" or "they," subjective or objective, science or religion, male or female, the new world view has to be nonlinear, dynamic, contextual, and systemic. It has to deal with the mutual causality of all relationships." 1

Whatever specific things are done, they must:

- ... be long-range, both in view and in commitment of funding the 'future' is not the next 10 years or the next 20 the 'future' is forever;
- ... start from the broadest socio-cultural, economic and environmental perspective possible;
- ... attack the problems on multiple fronts;
- ...proceed with caution and contain built-in monitoring and change routines:
- ... be preceded by full and thorough discussion between all parties concerned in order to achieve consensus prior to any action being taken.

Perhaps the most notable achievement of the R.C.N.E. was to initiate for the first time a native-white dialogue - providing the means whereby both sides of the cultural fence came together and discussed each other's and their common problems in the north. It is recommended that this dialogue continue because it is the only way the problems may eventually be resolved. This might be achieved by the establishment of a standing commission, but steps would have to be taken to ensure that the multitude of problems encountered by the R.C.N.E. were avoided.

Calling Old Hands

A plea to send the Third World not young Peace Corps types but experienced older and retired people was issued in the liberal weekly *Die Zeit* of Hamburg [Sept. 2] by Dieter Biallas, former mayor of Hamburg and long-time expert in development work. The Third World now needs "experienced, technically trained personnel with practical skills Modern medical equipment, telecommunications devices, airports, industrial plants, and data-processing machinery require people for operating and servicing."

People also are needed for skilled social tasks such as care for the elderly, the running of kindergartens and orphanages, and dealing with the social implications and side effects of industrial development. Biallas adds, "A stint in a place where one is really needed could be very attractive for the over-fifty group Today more than ever, maturity and experience are what count."

It will take the best people on both sides of the cultural fence to achieve these broad goals - the Traditional and Transitional generations amongst native people and their contemporaries from the "people south". Whindians on both sides of the fence must be avoided - at least at first.

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- 3 Henderson, p. 12
- The authors' ideas on the subject have been set out in detail elsewhere and will not be repeated here.
- 5 The authors appreciate this would leave Webequie in a peculiar position, however, since Ontario seems bent on "privatizing" its provincial parks, perhaps...

The fundamental problem requiring attention is the economy of the "planned communities" which, of course, cannot be viewed apart from the contexts of the northern, national and global economies as well as socio-cultural and environmental realities.

"The first thing that has to go is linear economics, which is based on competition, rather than cooperation. For years, economists have used the concept of "externalities" to explain those social costs of production that they did not want to include in their balance sheets and accounting. I always like to call the concept of "externalities" a Freudian slip, because it shows so clearly the economists' own logic and mind-set.

Now we have come to the realization that these "externalities"—the social costs of a polluted environment, disrupted communities, disrupted family life, and eroded primary relationships—may be the only part of our GNP that is growing. We are so confused that we add these social costs into the GNP as if they were real, useful products. We have no idea whether we are going forward or backward, or how much of the GNP is social costs and how much of it is useful production that we intended.

We need a complete restructuring of economics and of all the statistical illusions by which we are trying to manage this abstraction called "the economy." We must include all kinds of data from many other disciplines, including psychology, biology, and physics. Economists must learn this or simply be swept away."

For reasons of psychological and social health, to say nothing of economic health, welfare and all the other fiscal umbilical cords whereby the communities presently exist, must be severed. In part, this can be done by making the communities as self-sufficient as possible with regard to the basic necessities of life.⁴

Official dpartments of agriculture have traditionally regarded the north as a non-agricultural area, however this is contrary to the historical evidence of the HBC posts. While large-scale, mechanized agriculture is certainly not feasible because of terrain and climate, smaller scale agriculture is. It is recommended that provincial and federal departments of agriculture be directed to thoroughly investigate the possibilities.

Without a secure land base, no society or group of people can have an economic base. In addition, white economy is based on the private ownership of property. Thus it appears unreasonable to expect the Indian to participate in the whiteman's economy when the Treaty left him with no land of his own. It is recommended that the concept of federal Reserves of land, held in trust for the Indians, be abolished and that the Crown alienate tracts of land (e.g., 10-mile strips around the lakes upon which the communities are located) for each of the present communities and settlements. It is also

Western industrialism has hitherto rested upon the manufacture of material goods. Today many production lines are being mechanized and much traditional production such as steel and cotton textiles is shifting to the Third World. In North America there will have to be a shift from manufacturing ('manu' = hand) to ''mensfacturing'' ('mens' = mind) - producing creative products. The human mind is the only truly infinite resource and infinite market that exists and the only one that doesn't place unreasonable demands on physical resources.

recommended that within these tracts, lots, boundaries, etc. be established and deeded to present residents, the bulk of the tract to be held in common by present residents, their heirs and successors. (Resource development within the tract to be subject to applicable provincial regulations.)

Whatever the whiteman might see himself as losing by taking such a step, would easily be made up for by a corresponding decrease in welfare and other payments.

The traplines of the few remaining native trappers who earn their livelihood in the traditional way as much as they are able, should be exempted from provincial policies such as quotas - if for no other reason than that their own policy of taking only what they need is eminently more sensible. The whiteman's laws, if just, should protect their rights to live in their traditional way. Again, whatever the province may think its economy is losing, is amply made up for by the fact that such people are being productive members of the economy instead of a drain on it.

Of Northern Ontario's three major industries, mining, forestry and tourism, it is only tourism that:

- (a) has the potential to be labour-intensive and include those native people with little or no white schooling;
- (b) if carefully thought out and controlled, offers a way to benignly exploit the environment;
- (c) could have a firmly-rooted place in the global economy; and
- (d) has the potentical to be a perpetual, on-going industry.

By "tourism" we mean genuine tourists or what is currently called "world class" tourism, not sportsmen. The latter have a place, but it is relatively minor compared to the potential for the former. It is recommended that the province thoroughly examine the potential for tourism and cease to look at forestry as the economic be-all and end-all for the north.

Canadians are largely unaware of the tremendous appeal (and the vast and eager market) in Europe that tales of the 'New World', the land and its people have had from the time of the first explorers. There is a vast, untapped resource represented by the native people, their culture and the history and archaeology of the north. A correlative industry, and also untapped, is the production of 'cultural materials' from traditional native crafts to books, videotapes, models, games, artifact replicas, educational materials, etc. - all of which could be marketed anywhere. 6

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It was noticed in the preparation of this paper that there is a great deal more information available about American Indians than Canadian Indians. This

- 7 Founded 1846 in Washington, D.C. with a bequest of £100,000 from James Smithson, a British chemist who died in 1829.
- 8 Within the Treaty #9 area, there are 4 languages spoken: Ojibwa, Cree, Oji-Cree and Salteaux and as many dialects of each as there are communities in which they are spoken. Each community represents a grouping of formerly autonomous extended family units. Thus all the people within the area cannot be lumped together in a common pot and be regarded as the same. They were never a "nation" in the proper sense of the word.

seems to be due in large measure to the activities of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. It is recommended that the province establish a 'bureau of ethnology' (perhaps within the Ministry of Northern Affairs) to record and preserve the rapidly vanishing non-renewable resource represented by the elders.

Such a program could have a wide range of effects by:

- (a) providing some employment for native people (the Transitionals);
- (b) providing a useful role for the elders and in so doing, provide a measure of stability by counteracting Whindianism;
- (c) assisting the communities themselves in establishing their own archives and museums for their own use and for tourism;
- (d) helping to avoid future identity problems for native people;
- (e) providing a data base or the raw material for mensfactured products just the same as an ore body is mined and converted into manufactured products;
- (f) providing a data base for much needed educational materials in both native and white schools; and
- (g) leading to better understanding between the people of the two cultures.

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The northern native people have a sort of amorphous existence in that they are not clearly defined or connected to the provincial and national bodies politic. The Treaty made them vague wards of the state. The vagueness comes from lumping them all together into geographical areas by Treaty, then subdividing them into Treaty 'bands' which bore no resemblance to reality. The situation is perpetuated by the existence and operations of DIAND.

It is recommended that:

- (a) the Treaty be re-negotiated, treating each of the present communities and settlements as individual, distinct, autonomous entities and allowing for the recognition and acknowledgement of further such entities should groups splinter off from existing communities;
- (b) DIAND be abolished it is DIAND that has been responsible for the present mess; this step alone would considerably reduce the federal deficit since it is estimated that 90% of the Department's funding goes to support the department, not the people themselves; and
- (c) the Indian Act be revised in order to integrate the communities directly into the civil and political structure of the country.

The creation of properly constituted "special municipalities" which acknowledge and accommodate the cultural uniqueness and special needs or requirements deriving therefrom, would integrate the people directly into the pro-



vincial body politic and would make DIAND obsolete.

Some sort of mechanism should also exist so that northern native people are represented in parliament as well. At the very least, MPPs for the relevant ridings could have special native assistants whose exclusive job would be to maintain continual contact with the "special municipalities" in the riding.

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Education, in its very broadest sense and at all levels, is a second fundamental requirement for the future. Put another way, everyone has a great deal to learn if the situation is to improve:

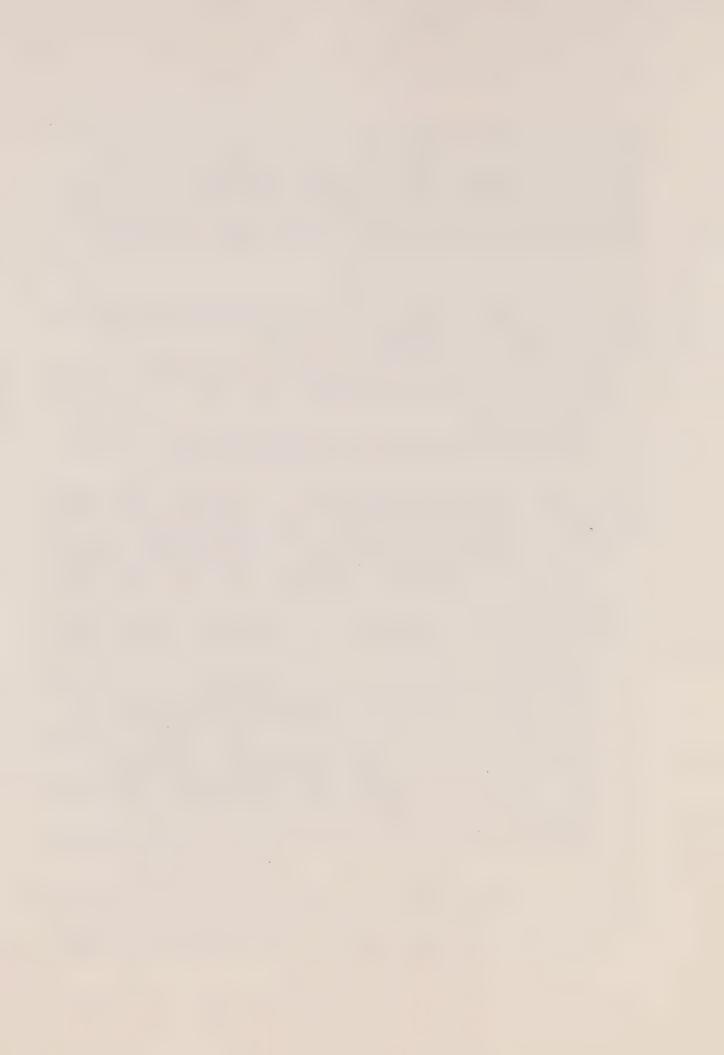
- (a) both Indian and white have a lot to learn about each other if they are to work together with mutual respect;
- (b) urbanites have a lot to learn about the environment and their dependency on it; and
- (c) southerners, particularly bureaucrats, have a great deal to learn about the north and its people, both native and white.

To ensure that native people are able to walk confidently and competently into the future and able to participate fully in the global economy, the present system of native education must be considerably improved:

- (a) there is absolutely no reason in the world that Reserve schools cannot be staffed entirely by teachers drawn from each community and an end put to the compounds of privileged white persons who "come to teach the Indians":
- (b) a curriculum must be established for the schools which uses white tools (the written word, math, etc.) to teach native content and about the world and white society;
- (c) standards and exams must be set and applied and schools regularly inspected to ensure that those leaving the Reserve for further education are better prepared scholastically than they are today;
- (d) Reserve schools should include a Junior High so that their graduates are a couple of years older before leaving their families to go to high school and have a better chance at succeeding in high school;
- (e) parents must be given the opportunity and encouraged to participate more actively in their children's education through local School Boards and P. T. A.'s; and
- (f) the opportunity to learn must also be extended or opened to the entire community.

Two things are needed to improve the success rate of those who come out to school:

(a) closer and more careful supervision and extra tutoring if necessary - this perhaps could be accomplished by a very strictly run boarding



- home for all the students instead of placing them individually with families that are strangers to them; and
- (b) instilling a sense of mission in the students themselves so that the determination to succeed comes from within the person rather than by varios external means coercing him or her to succeed.

This last must come from the communities themselves and is partly contingent upon greater parental involvement in the Reserve schools and upon regular contact between the students and their communities which might be accomplished by means of videotapes. Other "third world" peoples have managed to catch up to the western world by sending their young out to learn all they can then returning to their homelands to apply that knowledge. The northern communities are going to have to do the same.

It is suggested that it might be of benefit in accomplishing the above if the province were to establish for as long as necessary a special corps of dedicated and very carefully selected white educators, each paired with a carefully selected person from each community to assist in setting up School Boards, curricula, etc. The white members of the teams must be thoroughly briefed in the background of the people and the goals and objectives of such a program. Although Indian education is a federal responsibility, it is the provincial school system that the Reserve schools are supposed to be preparing their pupils to enter.

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Part of the whiteman's difficulties with the natural environment stem from his outmoded economic framework and concepts. The idea of a 'fiscal year' and the annual toting up of balance sheets which then determines a course of action for the following year is, in effect, forcing dynamic reality into the regularity of the clock and calender - a mechanical approach to the environment. Computers have made the notion of a 'fiscal year' and its resultant mode of decision-making obsolete. Computers can produce balance sheets anytime they're desired and analog computers can continually monitor countless variables and their interrelationships and adjust goals and production processes accordingly - just as the traditional boreal forager did.

Planning as it is presently conceived is based on annual balance sheets. "Long-range planning" just extends the concept of the fiscal year to 5-, 10- or 20-year periods. But it is still a clocks and calendars, mechanized approach to decision-making. It is not adequate for grasping and dealing with a dynamic environment and it is hopelessly inadequate for ensuring a "perpetual harvest" of "renewable resources".

To guarantee that the resources are truly there in the future for the people



of Ontario, their heirs and successors, perpetual planning must occur - continually monitoring all aspects of the environment and continually adjusting plans and goals accordingly. Adaptive Management, not management by set goals, quotas and objectives. Managing ourselves, not "managing the environment". (Humans are not God, after all.) The boreal foragers have demonstrated the survival advantages and the validity of such a change in approach.

Because the whiteman's conceptual frame of reference has lagged so far behind the rapid advances in his technology and therefore so much of his fundamental thinking is outmoded, radical mistakes are inevitable. It is suggested that the provincial government establish a "think tank" to examine the premises it has been operating on in order to develop more up-to-date policies and procedures. It is also suggested that one of the first topics for "thinking" be the West Patricia Land Use Plan. It is recommended that nothing be done to implement WPLUP until it has been thoroughly scrutinized.

Quite apart from economic and environmental considerations, it is not a good idea to contemplate mega-projects involving the transfer of northern water to the south. Re-arranging lakes and rivers just avoids any thought or action about the real issue which has to be faced sometime and may as well be now: the clean-up of polluted environments. Even worse, the step would be like giving southerners a license to continue polluting the Great Lakes system.

For a long time there has been a polarity regarding Ontario's northern forest. On the one hand, the companies declare that everything is just fine and on the other there are those that say it certainly isn't. What are the facts? It is suggested that a comprehensive study be done of all areas cut in this century in the north in order to establish the facts. It is also suggested that the government and the companies accept the fact that the environmental limits of climate and soil cover in the north mean that competitors elsewhere have the edge and that mechanical harvesting would appear to be best suited to a mechanical forest of regular-sized trees growing in nice, neat regularly-spaced rows. It seems to the authors that the future of forestry in the north depends on harvesting plantations of trees rather than continual expansion into previously uncut areas.

The provincial park system potentially holds a prime function in educating urbanites about the natural environment and natural history. Where else are they to obtain direct experience with the natural world? It is recommended that the parks system in the north be strengthened and expanded. It is also suggested that the parks system could do what the U.S. National Park Service does and incorporate into its program areas where native



people still operate in some of their traditional ways such as the traplines of the few remaining trappers.

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Forty years ago, this report would have concluded with a single recommendation: LEAVE THESE PEOPLE ALONE! Over time, they would have gradually integrated themselves at their own rate and in ways each person and each family perceived to be the best and most practical. There were those native people who saw that the paths of the whiteman and the Indian would inevitably converge at some point in the future and that therefore their children must get as good a white education as possible in order to survive. There were those who saw that in the future the Indian too would survive by tilling the land. There were also those who took their families and left the Reserves to earn their livelihood by wage labour in the mines, on the roads and on the railways. Gradually and naturally, it would all have happened at no expense to and with no interference from the whiteman's government.

The whiteman's government created the mess and must bear the responsibility and the cost of cleaning it up. As for the native people, once they grasp that efforts to improve the situation are sincere, long-range in view and that at least half the effort will be up to themselves, they will respond and do more than their share. That is the kind of people they were and most still are those "people north of 500".



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Table 1. Structure, Composition, and Landform Associations of northern Ontario Vegetation Types.

PATCH-TYPE A: CLOSED BLACK SPRUCE FOREST

Structure and composition: Sole canopy dominant: Black spruce (Picea mariana). Uniform ground cover. Common shrubs: Labrador tea (Ledum groenlandicum), mountain cranberry (Vaccinium vitis-idaea). Common herbs: Bunchberry (Cornus canadensis, horsetails (Equisetum spp.), tall lungwort (Mertensia paniculata), twinflower (Linnaea borealis), and sweet coltsfoot (Petasites palmatus). Ground cover a dense mat of moss; dominant species: Pleurozium shreberi. Reindeer lichens (Cladonia spp.) and mountain alder (Alnus crispa) occupy

Landform: Upland, mesic. Well-developed mineral soil with moderate drainage.

No evidence of recent fire or other disturbance.

References: Field observation. Ritchie (1956:528-31), Moir (1958:59-62), Hustich (1956:21-23).

PATCH-TYPE B: MIXED SPRUCE-ASPEN-BIRCH FOREST

Structure and composition: Canopy includes mature or senescing trembling aspen (Populus tremuloides) and birch (Betula papyrifera, being replaced by younger black spruce. Common shrubs: Those of patch-type A plus mountain alder, speckled alder (Alnus rugosa), and diminutive willows (Salix spp.). Common herbs: Those of patch-type A plus wild sarsaparilla (Aralia nudicaulis), pyrola (Pyrola spp.), and clubmosses (Lycopodium spp.). Small canopy openings support strawberry (Fragaria virginiana), meadowrue (Thalictrum venulosum), and corn lily (Clitonia borealis). Landform: Similar to patch-type A.

References: Field observation. Moir (1958:62); similar to Ritchie (1956:531-32).

PATCH-TYPE C: ASPEN-BIRCH FOREST

Structure and composition: Canopy relatively open: trembling aspen and white birch. Shrub layer similar to patch-type B, but more dense. Common shrubs: Those of patch-type B plus velvetleaf blueberry (Vaccinium myrtilloides), red currant (Ribes triste), rose (Rosa acicularis), and an occasional balsam fir (Abies balsamea). Common herbs: Those of patch-type B plus dwarf raspberry Rubus pubescens), fireweed (Epilobium angustifolium), and woodland strawberry (Fragaria vesca).

Landform: Similar to patch-type B.

References: Field observation. Moir (1958:62), Hustich (1956:25); similar to Ritchie (1956:532-37).

PATCH-TYPE D: RECENT BURN

Structure and composition: Tall shrub layer: Trembling aspen, jackpine (Pinus banksiana) and white birch. Common shrubs: Speckled alder, mountain alder, willows, black spruce, velvetleaf blueberry, rose, and mountain cranberry. Common herbs: Sweet coltsfoot, twinflower, fireweed, bunchberry, pyrola, aster (Aster spp.), goldenrod (Solidago spp.), Bicknell's cranesbill (Geranium bicknellii), and grasses and sedges.

Landform: Similar to patch-types A, B, and C.

References: Field observation. Rowe and Scotter (1973:448-49). Similar to Ritchie (1956:537).

PATCH-TYPE E: PINE FOREST ON OUTCROP

Structure and composition: Open canopy of jackpine. Tall shrub layer sparse, including balsam willow (Salix pyrifolia) and white birch. Open outcrop surfaces support a dense mat of saxicolous lichens. Mesic crevices and depressions support lichens plus herbs and shrubs: velvetleaf blueberry, mountain cranberry, saxifrage (Saxifraga tricuspidata), three-toothed cinquefoil (Potentilla tridentata), fireweed, goldenrods, asters, sedges and grasses. In drainage-impeded hollows: Labrador tea, black spruce, and mosses (most common: Sphagnum spp. and Polytrichum commune).

Landform: Granitic outcrops (Precambrian) and ridges with little weathered soil,

generally xeric.

References: Field observation. Ritchie (1956:538-42); Moir (1958:65).

PATCH-TYPE F: LICHEN WOODLAND

Structure and composition: Open stands of black spruce, less frequently tamarack (Larix laricina) or jackpine. Shrubs and herbs rare. Ground cover a thick lichen mat, mostly reindeer lichens (Cladonia spp.). Landform: Rugged topography or outcrops. Xeric, shallow soils.
References: Ahti and Hepburn (1967), Hare (1950). Aire observations only were

made during fieldwork.

PATCH-TYPE G: MUSKEG

Structure and composition: Open stands of stunted black spruce. Discontinuous shrub layer: willows, dwarf birch (Betula glandulosa), alder, leatherleaf (Chamaedaphne calyculata), and Labrador tea. Herbs and prostrate shrubs: mountain cranberry, large cranberry (Oxycoccus microcarpus), cloudberry (Rubus chamaemorus), sedges and horsetails. Fround cover a thick, hummocky carpet of mosses, mostly <u>Sphagnum spp.</u>.
Landform: Poorly drained depressions, flat, shallow, organic soils.

References: Field observation. Ritchie (1956:547-49), Moir (1958:62-65),

Hustich (1956:20-21), Ahti and Hepburn (1967:45-47).

PATCH-TYPE H: PEAT BOG

Structure and composition: Wet central part of bog: Marsh trefoil (Menyanthes trifoliata), marsh cinquefoil (Potentilla palustris), sedge (Carex rostrata), and cotton grass (Eriophorum spp.). Surrounding this a sedge-dominated community drowning in a mat of submerged hypnoid mosses. Species include: sedges, false Solomon's seal (Smilacina trifolia), and chickweed (Stellaria longifolia). A third surrounding zone of hummocked sphagnum mosses, with bog rosemary (Andromeda polifolia), large cranberry, Labrador rea, leatherleaf, sweet gale (Myrica gale), bilberry (Vaccinium uliginosum), willows, cloudberry, goldenrod (Solidago purshii), and wild calla (Calla palustris). Landform: Shallow wet depressions; hollows with peaty soils.

References: Field observation. Ritchie (1956:549-41), Moir (1958:74-75), Hustich (1956:19-20), Ahti and Hepburn (1967:43-49).

PATCH-TYPE I: AQUATIC VEGETATION

Structure and composition: (1) Shallow water bodies with gently sloping margins: In 50 cm to 1 m of water; pondweeds (Potamogeton spp.), and water-crowfoots (Ranunculus spp.). In less than 50 cm of water; bullhead lily (Nuphar variegatum), water smartweed (Polygonum amphibium), mare's tail (Hippuris vulgaris),

and bladderwort (<u>Utricularia vulgaris</u>). In shallow margins: marsh trefoil, wild calla, marsh marigold (<u>Caltha palustris</u>) and sedges. (2) Deeper lakes, steeper shorelines: In 50 cm to 1 m of water; bullhead lily, pondweeds, bur-reed (<u>Sparganium angustifolium</u>), wapato (<u>Sagittaria cuneata</u>), swamp horsetail (<u>Equisetum fluviatile</u>), and sedges.

Landform: See above. Shallow (less than 1 m) margins of lakes, streams and rivers, especially coves, stream confluences or slow-flowing narrows.

References: Field observation. Ritchie (1956:551-52).

PATCH-TYPE J: AQUATIC AREAS

This patch-type encompases areas beyond the shore zones, which do not support emergent vegetation.

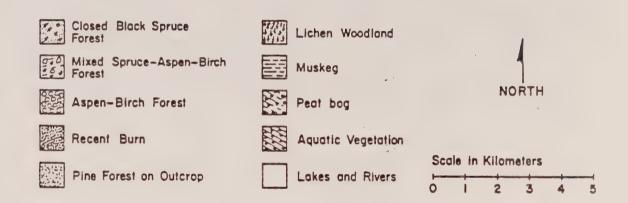
VEGETATION OF LAKE MARGINS (TYPE K)

Structure and composition: Shrubs dominate at the water's edge: willows, sweet gale, mountain alder, and red-osier dogwood (Cornus stolonifera). Several meters inland is a tree stratum dominated by willow and balsam poplar (Populus balsamifera). Other species: white birch, tamarack, black spruce, swamp horsetail (Equisetum fluviatile), rose strawberries, squashberry (Viburnum edule), wild sarsaparilla, and buncoberry.

Landform: Clay and stone shorelines along the water's edge.

References: Field observation. Ritchie (1956:552-53), Moir (1958:79-80).

Figure 10. The Vegetation Mosaic



NOTE: The definition and recognition of these associations is based on Ritchie's research in the Manitoba boreal forest (1956, 1958, 1960), somewhat modified by field observations and by the work of the botanists Moir (1958) and Hustich (1957) within the Severn River drainage (see Winterhalder 1977, pp. 128-148). A stereoscopic interpretation of black and white airphotos (provided by the National Airphoto Library, Survey and Mapping Branch, Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa) was used in preparation of the map. The interpretation relied on (a) the author's familiarity with the area; (b) a series of low-level color airphotos taken by the author at the autumn peak of vegetation color distinctions, which overlapped and could be correlated with the textural and tonal features of the high altitude photos, and (c) reference to publications describing the preparation of similar maps of boreal forest vegetation (Larsen 1962, 1972; Ritchie 1958).



Table 2. Vegetation Patch-Types: Number, Size and Proportional Area

Patch-Type		Number of patches	Mean size (km ²)	Total area (km²)	% of all area	% of upland (successional) area
Α.	Closed black spruce forest	74	.73	53.9	12	39
В.	Mixed spruce- aspen-birch forest	55	.64	35.1	. 08	26
С.	Aspen-birch forest	29	.76	22.1	05	16
D.	Recent burn	10	1.38	13.8	03	10
Ε.	Pine forest on rock outcrop	17	.14	2.4	01	03
F.	Lichen woodland	13	.53	6.8	02	06
G.	Muskeg	3 8	4.24	161.0	37	••
н.	Peat bog	57	.99	56.4	. 13	es to
Ι.	Aquatic vegetation	3 8	.20	7.6	02	
J.	Lakes and rivers: Muskrat Dam Lake Others	1 54	63.10	63.1 16.4	14 04	
	Totals	386		438.6	101	100

SOURCE: Winterhalder 1977, p. 145

NOTE: The sizes of individual patches were calculated by placing a transparent point-grid, calibrated on geometric shapes of known area, over the airphotos used to prepare Figure 4. A regression equation established the relationship between point counts for patches and their areas.

Table 5. Habitat Associations of Major Resource Species

Resource	Patch- or Vegetation- Type Association	Notes	
Moose Winter	Aspen-Birch Forest Recent Burn Lake Margins	Deep snowfall strengthens winter patch association.	
Summer	Aquatic Vegetation Lake Margins	Low water, heat and insects strength en summer patch association.	
Caribou Winter	Closed Black Spruce Forest Pine Forest on Outcrop Lichen Woodland	Deep snowfall strengthens winter patch association, especially for Pine Forest on Outcrop.	
Summer	Peat Bog	•	
Beaver	Aquatic Vegetation Lake Margins		
Muskrat	Aquatic Vegetation		
Hare Winter	Aspen-Birch Forest Recent Burn	Association with specific patch- types increases during fall, winter and spring, and when popu- lations are low	
Summer	Various		
Ruffed Grouse	Aspen-Birch Forest Recent Burn Lake Margins		
Spruce Grouse	Closed Black Spruce Forest Spruce-Aspen-Birch Forest		
Fish	Aquatic Vegetation Open Water	Association with the shallow water habitat is temperature influenced and increases in spring and fall and with spawning.	

SOURCE: Winterhalder 1977, p. 277.

B131/a/1 1785-86

"1786 & Journal. Mess:Book and. Expens At Memenusca Lake"

August 25	Set off from Gloucester House about 8 a.m.
	[travelling in Battean] [5 men and writer]
Septr 5	Got over the fall and put up at the foot of Memenisca Lake at 4 O Clock. P.M. by the Best Account that I can geat from our Guide we must Remain for the winter as our provisions is Short
September 8	[opened powder, found it got wet long ago and now like stones] [net set daily, Indians bring food]
12	Began this day to cut and clear away for our house
13 14 19	employed in Digging the foundation of our Houseall bands a-Building Our House [snow, couldn't work on house - started again on
29	20th]two uplanders came in for Debt
30	Got this Day in to our new Housetraded Some Wild Rice from Indians of yesterday
October 1st	[refers to head native as "Captain"]2 men making Netts the others Gathering Stones to Build a Ovin
12	Wind SW Hazzy Blowd a Hurrican that Blew the
19 23	<pre>[Indians bring fish, beaver, venison]Snowed very hard all Dayan Indian and family Came in almost Starving gave them alittle vituals and agreid With them to make</pre>
24	our Snow Shoesthe Lake Set fast from Side to Side
November 21 28	3 Indians Came in a StarvingWarm weather Self and 4 men netting Partridges got -50- 1 man Cooking
29 30	[Andy: partridges probably=prairie chickens]People as yesterday Got 60 Partridges [110]Got no Partridges this Day - [110]
December 1 2 3 5 6 7	netted 100 partridges this Day [210] 43 partridges [253] 30 " [283] 60 " [343] no " [343] 40 " [383]
9	3 men at the partridge Netts got nothinge
1 2 1 3	very few partridges to be seen 7 partridges no "an Indian and family came in starving
17 19 20	20 partridges 4 partridges 4 " [410] 4 [414]

```
January 2
                10 partridges
                                                                           [430]
          4
                                                                           [460]
                30
                         41
          5
                30
                                                                           [490]
                                                                           [550]
[565]
          6
                60
          7
                15
          9
                4
                                                                           [569]
         10
                Ø
         11
                12
                                                                           [581]
         12
                5
                                                                           [586]
         13
                                                                           [598]
         16
                [John Sutherland & Peter Ballantyne arrive]
        19
                                                                           [628]
                30 partridges
         20
         23
                10 partridges
                                                                           [638]
         24
                                                                           [640]
[644]
[650]
         25
                 2
         26
                4
                         п
         27
                6
                         11
         30
                 6
                                                                           [656]
                                                                           [663]
         31
                 7
February 1
                0
           2
                4
                                                                           [667]
                                                                           [681]
           3
                14
           6th
                0
           8
                 10
                          H
                                                                           [691]
           9
                 0
                       11
          10
                 0
                 0
          11
          13
                 14
                          11
                                                                           [705]
                                                                           [719]
[731]
          14
                 14
          15
                 12
                          11
          16
                13
                                                                           [744]
          17
                 0
                          11
          20
                 15
                                                                           [759]
          21st
                 Ø
                       11
          22
                 12
                                                                           [771]
          24
                 0
          25
                 0
                          11
          27
                                                                            [781]
                 10
                                                                            [791]
          28
                 10
                                                                            [797]
March 1st
                 6
                                                 1
                                                                            [803]
        2
                 6
        3
                 6
                                                                            [809]
        7
                                                                            [821]
                 12
                          11
        8
                 10
                                                                            [831]
                                                                            [837]
       11
                 6
                                                                            [852]
                 15
      13
      14
                 Ø
      17
                 4
                                                                            [856]
                 ... the people Clearing the Snow from about
      18
                 the house.
      28
      29
                                                                            [859]
      31
                 [gave stuff to an Indian who was to try to
                 persuade others to come there]
```

WHERE HAVE ALL THE BIRDIES GONE?

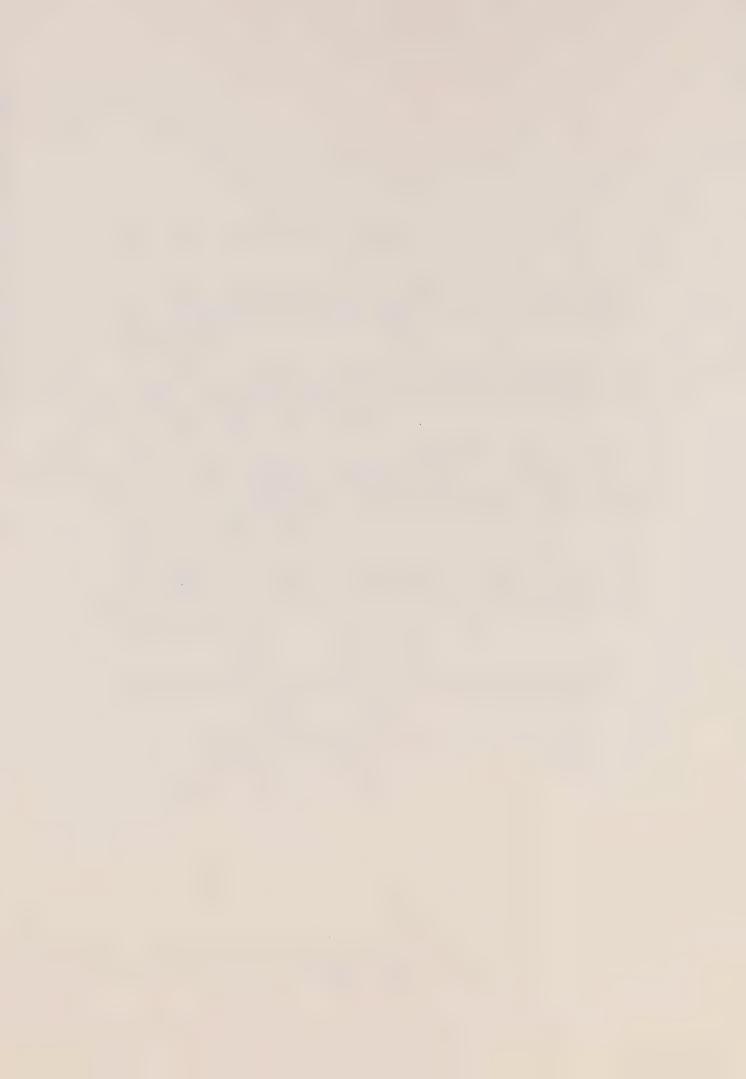
Once upon a time, long, long ago - in 1786, to be precise - a group of servants set out into the wilderness and, perforce, spent the winter at Memenuska Lake in Rupert's Land.

"Forsooth," spoke their leader one day, after they had builded their humble dwelling, "We must needs next to lay in a supply of edibles to sustain our existence throughout the dreary season."

And so, daily, they set forth armed with Netts (and, no doubt, many hearty, raucous yells) to entrap Partridges. Diligently persevering, they captured Partridge after Partridge, all of which were salted down and meticulously meted out by the leader at the regular rate of one/day/man.

One day, eight hundred and fifty-nine Partridges later, the leader recorded in his journal with not a little astonished perplexity: "Forsooth! Nary a Partridge was seen this day ... where, perchance, have all the birdies gone?"

EDITOR'S NOTE: Regrettably, this is a true story and based on extensive archival research.

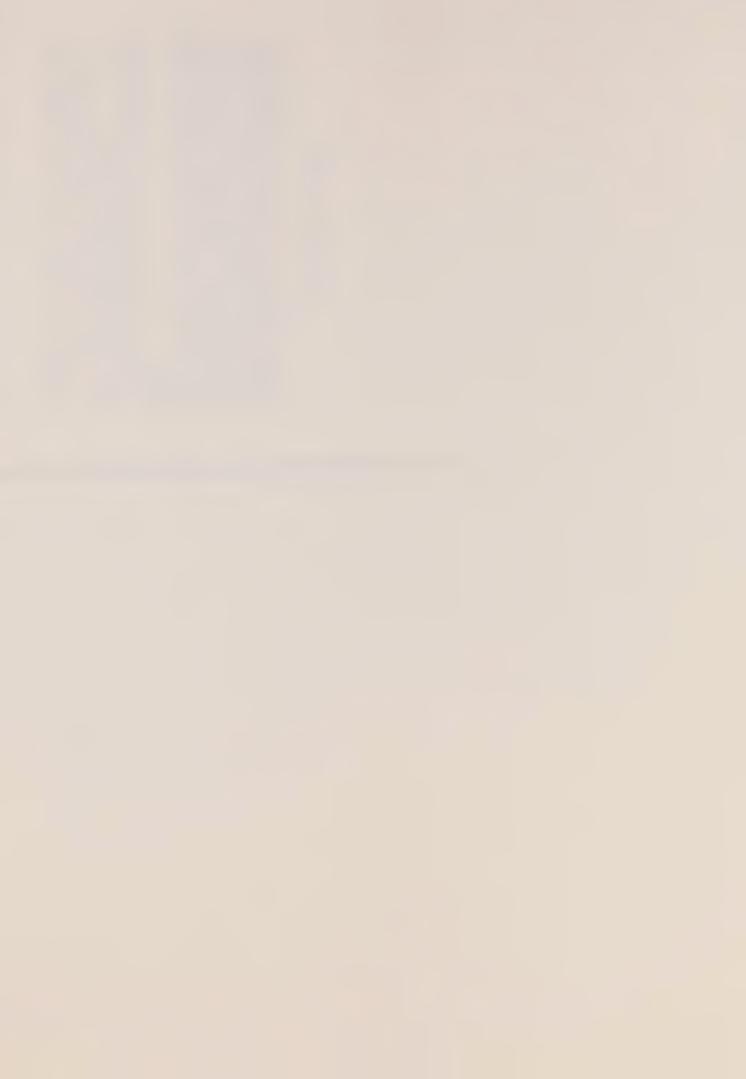


Metaphysics to Physics

By all accounts, the great majority of the people of the world agree that image, color, form and symbol are concrete, physical and real, capable of affecting the viewer of them. It is only among Western technological cultures, an extreme minority of the world, that this notion is suppressed and ridiculed. But now, as with so many previousy rejected areas of knowledge, Western science is slowly beginning to catch up.

In Seeing With the Mind's Eye, the Samuelses present some evidence that neurophysiologists are able to trace the pathways of images from the brain into the cells.

"It has been found that mental images have many of the same physical components as open-eyed perceptions. . . . Our bodies react to mental images in ways similar to how



But anatomists have also been aware of pathways between the cerebral cortex, where images are stored, and the autonomic physiologist Edmund Jacobson has done studies which show that when a person imagines running, small but measurable amounts of contraction actually take place in the muscles associated with running. The same neurological pathways vessels, expansion and contraction, blood pressure, blushing The pituitary gland secretes hormones which regulate the they react to images from the external world. The American are excited by imagined running as by actual running. . . . nervous system which controls the so-called involuntary muscles. The autonomic nervous system controls sweating, blood and goose-pimpling, the rate and force of heart contractions. respiratory rate, dryness of mouth, bowel motility and smooth muscle tension. There are also pathways between the autonomic nervous system and the pituitary and adrenal cortex. rate of secretion of other glands; especially the thyroid, sex and adrenal glands. The adrenal glands secrete steroids, which regulate metabolic processes, and epinephrine, which causes the 'fight or flight' reaction. Through these pathways, an image held in the mind can literally affect every cell in the

"The nervous innervation of voluntary and involuntary muscles is also associated with the physical expression of emotion. When an image or thought is held in the mind, there is neuronal activity in both hemispheres of the brain. Nerve fibers lead from the cerebral hemisphere to the hypothalamus, which has connections with the autonomic nervous system and the pituitary gland. When a person holds a strong fearful image in the mind's eye, the body responds, via the autonomic nervous system, with a feeling of 'butterflies in the stomach,' a quickened pulse, elevated blood pressure, sweating, goosebumps and dryness of the mouth. Likewise, when a person holds a strong relaxing image in the mind, the body responds with lowered heart rate, decreased blood pressure and, obviously, all the muscles tend to relax."

So the image you carry in your mind can affect your actual physical body and your emotional state.

The Samuelses describe research done with yogic practitioners who can voluntarily control many of their autonomic (involuntary) body processes, from breathing rate to body temperature to heartbeat. It is not unusual for a trained yogi to be able to fluctuate heartbeats voluntarily from eighty beats per minute to three hundred beats. The research showed that "the techniques by which they were able to do these things were found to be made of detailed visualizations."

The Samuelses provide nearly one hundred fifty pages of examples of the physical uses of images, ranging from athletes who use visualization to increase their performance to the dramatic growth in medical uses of visualization by doctors in aiding cancer victims to gain control of their own disease and by psychologists in easing the agonies of upcoming stressful situations.

The classic article on the effects of mental rehearsal is by Australian psychologist Alan Richardson, reporting on changes in performance among three groups of basketball players. Between test sessions, the first group physically practiced foul shooting, the second group practiced mentally, the third group didn't practice at all. The results showed that between the initial test and the final test, the first two groups improved their performance by virtually the same percentage. The third group did not improve. "Similar studies involving dart throwing and other athletic activities show the same kinds of results," say the Samuelses.

The image in the mind sends the autonomic nervous system through a rehearsal of impulses. When the real event comes along, it has been practiced. The image stimulating the autonomic nervous system is itself the practice.

Similar descriptions appear in an article by Dr. Richard Suinn in Psychology Today, July 1976. Suinn was asked to help some skiers who were training for the Olympics.

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his only preparation for one race was to ski it mentally. He was recovering from an injury at the time and couldn't praclice on the slopes. Killy says the race turned out to be one action as they [mentally] rehearse their sport. . . . The rience, a sort of body-thinking similar to the powerful illusion "I instructed the skiers to practice their athletic skills by using mental imagery. The technique has been used before. sean-Claude Killy, a three-gold-medal skier, has reported that of his best. . . . Without fail, athletes feel their muscles in imagery of visuo-motor behavior rehearsal apparently is more than sheer imagination. It is a well-controlled copy of expeof certain dreams at night."

Suinn describes incidents where athletes in sports ranging from swimming and skiing to pistol shooting use mental imagery to rehearse the actual competition. It proved better training, in many instances, than practice runs in noncompetitive conditions. With imagery, the competitive conditions were more nearly simulated in the nervous system. So the imagery was more valuable rehearsal than actual physical practice.

myography responses of an Alpine ski racer as he summoned Muscle bursts appeared as the skier hit jumps. Further muscle and the needles settled during the easy sections . . . his EMG recordings almost mirrored the course itself. There was even a final burst of muscle activity after he had passed the finish line, a mystery to me until I remembered how hard it is to come to a skidding stop after racing downhill at more "During one recent experiment, I recorded the electrobursts duplicated the effort of a rough section of the course, up a moment-by-moment imagery of a downhill race. . . . than 40 miles an hour."

The image held in the mind produced measurable physiological responses. The involuntary nervous system is activated by the image. The image is itself training.

Modern psychology is making much of these techniques, but a sensible person will automatically evoke images in order

to rehearse an event, without any therapist's instructions. It could just be called "thinking through" an event beforehand, whether it is a speech or a difficult encounter. Every lawyer that I've ever met does it before every court appearance. Most usiness people do it. By giving time to the planning of the events, you are taking charge of them, preprogramming your ody and mind.

those used by "primitive" healers and medicine people. The dea is taking hold that, like the yogis, patients can control their Even more interesting perhaps are the increasing uses of visualization in modern medicine, techniques very similar to own internal chemistry, the functions of the organs, the flow of the blood and so forth by way of the images held in the Prominent among the practitioners of medical visualization is a European neurologist, J. H. Shultz, who uses something tours of their bodies, visually discovering their organs, the called "autogenic therapy," taking people through imaginary cells, and eventually picturing them as functional and healthy.

effects of the standard autogenic exercises have demonstrated an increase (or decrease) in skin temperatures, changes in blood sugar, white blood cell counts, blood pressure, heart and breathing rates, thyroid secretion, and brain wave patterns. . . . Autogenic training has been used in coordination with standard drug and surgical procedures in Europe to treat a broad range of diseases including ulcers, gastritis, gall bladder attacks, irritative colon, hemorrhoids, constipation, obesity, heart attack, angina, high blood pressure, headaches, asthma, diabetes, thyroid disease, arthritis and low back pain, The Samuelses report: "Autogenic therapy is widely used in Europe and has been extensively researched. . . . A sevenvolume work cites 2400 studies. Researchers examining the

Dr. Carl Simonton, who is director of cancer therapy at



Gladman Memorial Hospital in Oakland, California, and his wife, Stephanie Simonton, have been receiving acclaim lately for their amazing results in inducing what have been called "spontaneous remissions" in cancer by using techniques of meditation and attitude adjustment based on visualization.

The patient is instructed to picture his or her cancer and to imagine the immune mechanism working the way it is supposed to, picking up the dead and dying cells.

"Patients are asked to visualize the army of white blood cells coming in, swarming over the cancer, and carrying off the malignant cells. . . These white cells then break down the malignant cells, which are then flushed out of the body.

". The cancers may be imagined in the form of animals, snakes, armies, non-objective force-fields, whatever seems to have meaning in a particular patient." The Simontons also use photos of cells, photos of cancers, X ray photos of the person's own cancer to aid the process of imaging and at some point they ask patients to visualize themselves totally well.

Critics of the Simontons' success statistics like to argue that it is not the visualizations themselves which have produced the results, but rather the belief in them, the placebo effect. But, of course, this is an absurd criticism, because the belief in the cure is itself likely to come in the form of a visualization of the healthy body. In either event, it is the image that effects the cure

The Samuelses' book is an amazing and fascinating work. They quote from virtually every religious discipline, every healing system in the history of the world about which any evidence exists. They quote from Sufis, Hindus, Gnostics, Rosicrucians, and Indians as well as from Christian and Hebrew texts. They quote from dozens of psychotherapies and nearly as many medical systems. They quote from artists about inspiration, scientists about "flashes of insight" (Einstein said that his relativity theory popped into his mind at a

moment when he was imagining himself being carried along standing on a beam of light), but there are two notable absences from their work. They do not discuss the role of image emulation and they never once mention television.

Image Emulation: Are We All Taped Replays?

A few years ago, when my kids were six and seven respectively, they asked to see *The Towering Inferno*. I took them and a six-year-old friend of theirs, Veva Edelson, to see it. When we returned home, I heard the three of them playing in the next room and wrote down what they were saying. Here is a portion of it.

YARI: (Shouting) How're you doing there; are you holding onto the top of the building?

KAI: (Also shouting) Yeah, but my rope and my gun fell down. How are you doing?

YARI: I'm in the middle of a lot of fire here. Call Squad Thirty-eight.

VEVA: You have to come down because the whole first floor is burning.

YARI: I don't know how I can get down; the stairs are blocked and the elevators are burning.

VEVA: (Interrupting the game) Let's say our walkie-talkies ran out of batteries and we can't talk.

YARI: (Continuing the interruption) Let's say the witing explodes (Then he makes a hosing sound on Kai, who is lying under a chair, which is supposed to be the building.)

VEVA: (Still interrupting) Let's say the fire went out. (Then, back into the game) Squad Fifty-one, I've got to talk to you. Right now there's about thirteen men dead and five women and two kids.

YARI: I'm not Squad Fifty-one, I'm Squad Thirty-eight, and I'm down here giving a five-dollar parking ticket.



III. EFFECTS OF TELEVISION ON THE HUMAN BEING

Children's games are largely based on their experiences. If they live in the country, their games will involve animals. If television, you can see it in their games. In all cases, the charthey go to movies, their games will reflect that. If they watch acters and creatures they are imitating are based upon the pictures of them which they carry in their minds.

"manly," determined, in charge, unafraid, coplike. Kai, the younger, is second in command. He plays Spock, affecting his I have watched my kids after they have seen Star Trek on TV. Yari, the older, becomes Captain Kirk-efficient, behavior: wry, unsmiling, unfeeling, scientific, detached, cereThe games continue for hours. Often they replay the same story a few times, as though they were rehearsing it or attempting to memorize it. This, of course, is exactly what they are doing—rehearsing it, to ingrain it in themselves.

Another day, I noticed that Yari was taking giant leaps around the garden and making a clicking sound with his tongue against the roof of his mouth. I realized that this noise was one he made frequently while doing something active and that it was an imitation of the electronic sound that accompanies all of the bionic acts of the Bionic Man. Later that week watched the program with my kids.

During one sequence the Bionic Man is shown running at bionic speed across a field, to the accompaniment of the clicks. The movements are shown in slow motion, so they become especially vivid. I asked my kids about this:

ine that you're the Bionic Man and try to run like When you guys are running, do you sometimes imag-JERRY:

I always do.

How about you, Kai? JERRY:

I do too; is that bad? KAI:

How to answer that? Is it bad? Is it bad for kids to do a

HOIL HE TURN INTO OUR IMAGES

or millions of years have learned about the world? That is mechanical person. I can't tell him it's bad because I don't natural thing-emulation, imitation-which is how children certainly not bad. But in this case, they were imitating a want him to doubt his own learning processes, and yet the nore he practices and maintains his bionic images, the more he imitates them. Slowly, he assumes the role in real life. The Bionic Man slowly becomes real in the person of . . . my kid!

I told him it wasn't bad and changed the subject.

In Chapter Four I described how emulation is a method used by human beings to understand and integrate nature into hemselves.

To get an idea of the naturalness of the process, just think of ways in which you are like your parents or your children are like you.

I believe that a parent may have less to do with the characteristics a child picks up from the parent than the kid does, because of simple evolutionary emulation processes that coninue constantly. We attempt to train children in one area, only to discover that they've picked up parts of ourselves that we'd rather they hadn't noticed.

exactly as he did at this age, even though it is not a desirable ity is limited and movement possibilities narrow. The manner of walking amplifies a certain static emotional condition that my father had to struggle with and which, finding it also in outward, ducklike, as I do, and also as my father does. I can remember the moment as a child when I chose to imitate my father's walk, out of a simple desire to be closer to him, to know how he is inside. Now, thirty-five years later, I walk way of walking. One's balance is not ideal, physical spontane-My son Kai has begun to walk with his toes spread slightly myself, I don't much like.

In retrospect, I can see that this way of walking is illustrative of an instinct to "hide" rather than "act," and perhaps its roots



go all the way back to his childhood in the Warsaw ghetto. Who knows? It hardly matters by now. And yet the walk has passed through three generations and is beginning to reappear in Kai

The point is that imitation from generation to generation is automatic. The tool used is the image of the person being imitated. As I walk, I imagine my father's walk. This makes it possible for me to repeat it. Without the image I could not repeat it. After many years, of course, the image has submerged though the walk remains.

We tend to speak of image emulation as applicable only to children, as though at some fixed age one ceases to learn in this way. This is absurd.

As there are ways in which my children imitate me, there are also ways in which I imitate them. Kai, for example, has a gentle and efficient way of speaking and moving, and I have often caught myself copying it. Yari has an energy and enthusiasm—a brightness—which I have learned to call upon myself. He teaches me how by merely being that way. I copy him as the Indian copies the panther and the Zen student copies the river. Slowly I become more like both of my children just as they also become more like me.

The same applies to husband and wife. It is a subject of New Yorker cartoons that husbands and wives (and even pets) begin to resemble each other after years together. I have seen countless examples of it, and I believe my wife and I are such an example. After living with someone over decades, one picks up her or his mannerisms, facial expressions, even lines on the face and body attitudes. There is no way to avoid doing this. It's automatic. Humans are hopeless emulators. We can't stop it if we wish to. We look around us, and whatever is there day after day becomes the environment for our ingestion whether it is the Bionic Man or one's own family. We absorb it, take it into ourselves, turn into it. We become each other's mirrors or

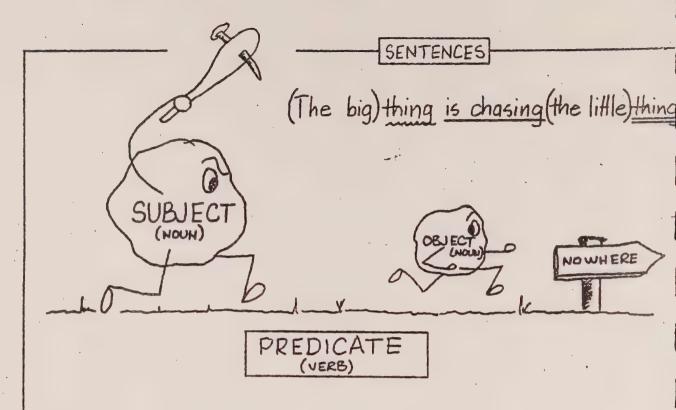
Enddhas or mandalas. Slowly we turn into what we see. It is a basic way of learning how to be. The process goes on for our whole lives.

San Francisco, unlike New York, achieves its primary cultural influence not from Europe but from Asia. An example of this occurs in many city parks from about six A.M. daily to cight A.M. I walk through one such park each day about seventhirty A.M. The scene is this: about forty people, half of them Western, half Chinese, are facing an old Chinese man who is Joing Tai Chi.

I have watched the way he teaches. He never speaks (he knows no English). He merely faces his "class" and moves. They copy his movements. If there is something particularly sifficult, he does it several times. There is no discussion of theory; the movement itself is the theory. Once you have absorbed the movement inside yourself, the meaning of the movement invades your consciousness. So the teaching method is 100 percent imitation. After the class is over, the students practice with the image of him in their minds.

Imitating Media





SUBJECT - something that is doing something.

(Modifiers of Subject) - word, phrase or clause that tells more about the something that is doing something

PREDICATE - that which the something does.

[Modifiers of Predicate] - word, phrase or clause that tells more about how the something does something.

OBJECT-something that is having something done to it by the something that is the subject

(Modifiers of Object) - word, phrase or clause that tells more about the something that is having something done to it.



ledge is one of the most neglected aspects of the thought of people we call 'primitive'. Even if it is rarely directed towards facts of the same level as those with which modern science is concerned, it implies comparable intellectual application and methods of observation. In both cases the universe is an object of thought at least as much as it is a means of satisfying needs.

Every civilization tends to overestimate the objective orientation of its thought and this tendency is never absent. When we make the mistake of thinking that the Savage is governed solely by organic or economic needs, we forget that he levels the same reproach at us, and that to him his own desires for knowledge seems more balanced than ours:

These native Hawaiians' utilization of their available natural assets was well-nigh complete – infinitely more so than that of the present commercial era which ruthlessly exploits the few things that are financially profitable for the time being, neglecting and often obliterating the rest (Handy and Pukui, Part VIII, p. 62).

Cash-crop agriculture is hardly to be confused with the science of the botanist. But, in ignoring the latter and taking only the former into account, the old Hawaiian aristocrat is simply repeating, and turning to the advantage of a native culture, a mistake of the same kind that Malinowski made when he claimed that primitive peoples' interest to totemic plants and animals was inspired by nothing but the rumbling of their stomachs.

Tessman (Vol. 2, p. 192) mentions 'the accuracy with which (the Fang of the Gabon) identify the slightest differences between species of the same genus'. The two authors quoted above make a similar observation about Oceania:

The acute faculties of this native folk noted with exactitude the generic characteristics of all species of terrestial and marine life, and the subtlest variations of natural phenomena such as winds, light and colour, ruffling of water and variation in surf, and the currents of water and air (Handyand Pukui, Part VI, p. 126).

Among the Hanunóo of the Philippines a custom as simple as that of betel chewing demands a knowledge of four varieties of arecanut and eight substitutes for them, and of five varieties of betel and five substitutes (Conklin, 3):

the local flora, ninety-three per cent of the total number of native plant types are recognized by the Hanundo as culturally significant (Conklin I, assumption that subsistence level groups never use but a small segment of Almost all Hanunoo activities require an intimate familiarity with local plants and a precise knowledge of plant classification. Contrary to the

This is equally true of fauna:

bloodsucking leeches are distinguished . . . : altogether 461 animal types water types number more than twenty-five ... Four distinct types of sixty classes are recognized by the Hanundo, while terrestrial and fresh by the Hanundo into a hundred and eight named categories, including thirteen for ants and termites ... Salt water molluscs ... of more than salt water crustaceans ... a similar number of ... types of arachnids and myriapods ... The thousands of insect forms present are grouped sixty-odd types of fish ... more than a dozen ... types of fresh and The Hanundo classify all forms of the local avifauna into seventy-five categories ... (they) distinguish about a dozen kinds of snakes ...

A biologist writes the following about pygmics of the Philippines: are recorded (id., pp. 67-70).

includes not only a specific recognition of a phenomenal number of plants, birds, animals, and insects, but also includes a knowledge of the demarcates them from the surrounding Christian lowlanders, is their inexhaustible knowledge of the plant and animal kingdoms. This lore Another characteristic of Negrito life, a characteristic which strikingly

more important, continually studies his surroundings. Many times I have seen a Negrito, who, when not being certain of the identification of a particular plant, will taste the fruit, smell the leaves, break and examine the stem, comment upon its habitat, and only after all of this, pronounce The Negrito is an intrinsic part of his environment, and what is still habits and behaviour of each. ...

whether he did or did not know the plant.

to them, because of their significant links with the animal and insect world, and having shown this, the same author continues: The natives are also interested in plants which are of no direct use

Most Negrito men can with ease enumerate the specific or descriptive fish and plants, is determined primarily by their actual physical differences the konanaba in dark thickets, and so forth. In this manner, the Pinatubo Negritos can distinguish the habits of more than fifteen species of bats. Of course, the classification of bats, as well as of insects, birds, animals, relationships between the plant and animal life . . . is strikingly pointed out by their discussions of the living habits of bats. The tididin lives on the dry leaves of palms, the dikidik on the underside of the leaves of the wild banana, the littit in bamboo clumps, the kolumboy in holes in trees, The acute observation of the pygmies and their awareness of the inter-

and/or similarities.

men and women, who use plants constantly in their practice, is truly names of at least four hundred and fifty plants, seventy-five birds, most of the snakes, fish, insects, and animals, and of even twenty species of ants ... and the botanical knowledge of the mananumbal, the 'inedictive

astounding (R. B. Fox, pp. 187-8).

Of a backward people of the Tyukyu archipelago, we read:

their separate features and habits, as well as the sexual differences within and bark, its smell, its hardness, and similar characteristics. Fish and shellfish by the dozen are known by individually distinctive terms, and Even a child can frequently identify the kind of tree from which a tiny by Kabiran notions of plant sex, by observing the appearance of its wood wood fragment has come and, furthermore, the sex of that tree, as defined

each type, are well recognized (Smith, p. 150).

ant in the Gabon, recently published an ethno-botanical list of dialects of twelve or thirteen neighbouring tribes (Walker and Sillans). The, for the most part unpublished, results of Marcel Griaule and his co-workers in the Sudan promise to be equally about eight thousand terms, distributed between the languages or vocabulary of the Subanun of the Southern Philippines greatly exceeds a hundred terms (Frake) and that of the Hanundo approaches two thousand.† Sillans, working with a single informhundred and fifty plants known to the Hopi Indians and more than five hundred to the Navaho have been recorded. The botanical twenty-eight others of narcotic, stimulant or medicinal properties (Barrows). A single Seminol informant could identify two hundred and fifty species and varieties of plants (Sturtevant). Three they were familiar with no less than sixty kinds of edible plants and only a handful of white families manage to subsist. They lived in a land of plenty, for in this apparently completely barren territory, Several thousand Coahuila Indians never exhausted the natural resources of a desert region in South California, in which today

ledge of it has often struck inquirers as an indication of attitudes and preoccupations which distinguish the natives from their white Their extreme familiarity with their biological environment, the passionate attention which they pay to it and their precise knowvisitors. Among the Tewa Indians of New Mexico: impressive.

• Also at least forty-five types of edible ground-mushrooms and ear-fungi (1.c., p. 231) and on the technological plane, more than fifty types of arrows (id.,

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Small differences are noted ... they have a name for every one of spicuous. The ordinary individual among the whites does not distinguish (them) ... Indeed, it would be possible to translate a treatise on botany the conferous trees of the region; in these cases differences are not coninto Tewa ... (Robbins, Harrington and Freire-Marreco, pp. 9, 12).

had never taken an interest in the riches and diversities of the plant E. Smith Bowen scarcely exaggerates in the amusing description she gives of her confusion when, on her arrival in an African tribe, she wanted to begin by learning the language. Her informants found it quite natural, at an elementary stage of their instruction, to collect a large number of botanical specimens, the names of which they told her as they showed them to her. She was unable to identify them, not because of their exotic nature but because she world. The natives on the other hand took such an interest for granted.

quently mathematics and botany confuse me. For the first time in my life wild or cultivated, had a name and a use, and where every man, woman and child knew literally hundreds of plants . . . (my instructor) simply as people. I'd never been on a farm and am not even sure which are begonias, dahlias, or petunias. Plants, like algebra, have a habit of looking alike and being different, or looking different and being alike; conse-I found myself in a community where ten-year-old children weren't my mathematical superiors. I also found myself in a place where every plant, could not realize that it was not the words but the plants which baffled These people are farmers: to them plants are as important and familiar ne (Smith Bowen, p. 19).

which he describes nearly three hundred species or varieties of The reaction of a specialist is quite different. In a monograph in medicinal or toxic plants used by certain peoples of Northern Rhodesia, Gilges writes:

leaves, roots and stems and told me about their uses. How far he was a that I shall never possess his knowledge of African psychology and his art in the treatment of his fellow men, that, coupled with my scientific Was it an exchange of information amongst colleagues? Or was it to show herbalist and how far a witch-doctor I could never fathom, but I regret It has always been a surprise to me to find with what eagerness the people in and around Balovale were ready and willing to talk about their medicines. Was it that they found my interest in their methods pleasing? off their knowledge? Whatever the reason, information was readily forthcoming. I remember a wicked old Luchozi who brought bundles of dried medical knowledge, might have made a most useful combination (Gilges,

trate the intimate contact between man and his environment which Conklin quotes the following extract from his field notes to illusthe native is constantly imposing on the ethnologist:

place. Along the way we munched on a few stems of tubu minuma, a type of sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum L.), stopped once to gather fallen bunga area nuts (Areca catechu L.), and another time to pick and eat the wild cherrylike fruits from some bugnay shrubs (Antidesma brunius (L.) Spreng). We arrived at the Mararim by mid-afternoon having spent much of our time on the trail discussing changes in the surrounding vegetation Teoforo) so that they would remain moist until we reached Langha's were going at a good pace, he stopped in a similar manner to dig up a known as liyamilyam (Epipogum roseum (D. Don.) Lindl.). This herb is plants. At Binli, Langha was careful not to damage those herbs when searching through the contents of his palm leaf shoulder basket for apug 'slaked lime' and tabaku (Nicotiana tabacum L.) to offer in exchange for other betel ingredients with the Binli folk. After an evaluative discussion mission to cut sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas (L.) Poir.) vines of two vegetatively distinguishable types, kamuti inasteang and kamuti lupate ... In the camote patch, we cut twenty-five vine-tip sections (about 75 cm. long) of each variety, and carefully wrapped them in the broad fresh leaves of the cultivated saging saba (Musa sapientum compressa (Blco. Aresaas, Langba told me to cut off several 10 x 50 cm. strips of bark from kugum buladlad (Buchnera urticifolia R. Br.) which he told me he will use as a lure ... for a spring-spear boar trap. A few minutes later, and we small terrestrial orchid (hardly noticeable beneath the other foliage) useful in the magical control of insect pests which destroy cultivated about the local forms of betel pepper (Piper betle L.) Langba got peragainst the leeches. By periodically rubbing the cambium side of the strips of sapanceous (and poisonous: Quisumbling, 1947, 148) bark over our ankles and legs - already wet from the rain-soaked vegetation - we produced a most effective leech-repellent lather of pink suds. At one spot along the trail near Aypud, Langba stopped suddenly, jabbed his walking stick sharply into the side of the trail and pulled up a small weed, tawag At 0600 and in a light rain, Langba and I left Parina for Binli ... At an anapla kilala tree (Albizzia procera (Roxb.) Benth.) for protection in the last few decades! (Conklin I, pp. 15-17).

posal also extend to morphology. In Tewa there are distinct terms and Harrington, p. 9). Forty terms are employed in the morphological description of the leaves of trees or plants, and there are This knowledge and the linguistic means which it has at its disfor all or almost all the parts of birds and mammals (Henderson fifteen distinct terms for the different parts of a maize plant.

parts and properties of plants. These provide categories for the The Hanundo have more than a hundred and fifty terms for the

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plants and their uses, . . . (they) employ nearly one hundred terms Over six hundred named plants have been recorded among the Pinatubo and 'in addition to having an amazing knowledge of in describing the parts or characteristics of plants' (R. B. Fox, teristics which differentiate plant types and often indicate signiidentification of plants and for 'discussing the hundreds of characficant features of medicinal or nutritional value' (Conklin 1, p. 97).

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the best study of the Indians of the north-eastern United States scot) emphasizes the wealth and accuracy of their zoological and Knowledge as systematically developed as this clearly cannot relate just to practical purposes. The ethnologist who has made and Canada (the Montagnais, Naskapi, Micmac, Malecite, Penobbotanical knowledge and then continues:

of the larger animals which furnish food and the materials of industry to primitive man. We expect, for instance, that the Penobscot hunter of Maine will have a somewhat more practical knowledge of the habits and character of the moose than even the expert zoologist. But when we realize how the Indians have taken pains to observe and systematize facts of science in the realm of lower animal life, we may perhaps be pardoned Such knowledge, of course, is to be expected with respect to the habits

The whole class of reptiles ... affords no economic benefit to these Indians; they do not eat the flesh of any snakes or batrachians, nor do they make use of other parts except in a very few cases where they serve in the preparation of charms against sickness or sorcery (Speck 1, p. 273).

genus of reptile and other terms applying to particular species and And nevertheless, as Speck has shown, the north-eastern Indians have developed a positive herpetology, with distinct terms for each

Bouriate, eye complaints); loach and crayfish swallowed alive hernias); macerated redworms (Iakoute, rheumatism); pike's gall (Russians of Siberia, epilepsy and all diseases); contact with a poses illustrate the care and ingeniousness, the attention to detail whiteworms swallowed as a cure for sterility among the Helmene cockroach, chicken's gall (Russians of Sourgout, abscesses and workers in societies of this kind. We find, for instance: spiders and and Iakoute; fat of black beetle (Ossete, hydrophobia); squashed The precise definition of and the specific uses ascribed to the natural products which Siberian peoples use for medicinal purand concern with distinctions employed by theoretical and practical

fur two. It is also the bear's frozen excretions which the Kalar collect at the end of the winter season to cure constipation (Zelenine, pp. 47-59). An equally extensive list for an African tribe dried bat worn round the neck (Russians of the Altaï, fever); instil-(Oirote, eye complaints). Taking just the case of bears among the Bouriate: the flesh of bears has seven distinct therapeutic uses, the blood five, the fat nine, the brains twelve, the bile seventeen, the of the crushed feet of the bird tilegous (Kazak, bite of mad dog): lation of water from an icicle hanging on the nest of the bird remiz koukcha (Iakoute, against toothache, scrofula, high fevers and hernias and warts); pigcon broth (Bouriate, coughs); powder made woodpecker's beak, blood of a woodpecker, nasal insufflation of the powder of a mummified woodpecker, gobbled egg of the bird tuberculosis respectively); partridge's blood, horse's sweat (Oirote.

known as a result of their usefulness; they are deemed to be useful Examples like these could be drawn from all parts of the world and one may readily conclude that animals and plants are not or interesting because they are first of all known. can be found in a study by Loeb.

It may be objected that science of this kind can scarcely be of much practical effect. The answer to this is that its main purpose is not a practical one. It meets intellectual requirements rather than or

these groupings. Classifying, as opposed to not classifying, has a value of its own, whatever form the classification may take. As a some initial order can be introduced into the universe by means of point of view from which a woodpecker's beak and a man's tooth peutic purposes being only one of its possible uses), and whether The real question is not whether the touch of a woodpecker's beak does in fact cure toothache. It is rather whether there is a can be seen as 'going together' (the use of this congruity for theraecent theorist of taxonomy writes: nstead of satisfying needs.

lowly and (in all probability) unconscious a way with the origin of life. In is an objective characteristic of the phenomena or is an artifact constructed conscious degree the perceptual reduction of chaos that began in so specific instances it can well be questioned whether the order so achieved by the scientist. That question comes up time after time in animal The one thing that they do not and must not tolerate is disorder. The whole aim of theoretical science is to carry to the highest possible and Scientists do tolerate uncertainty and frustration, because they must.

systematics is equated with ordering, then systematics is synonymous taxonomy . . . Nevertheless, the most basic postulate of science is that nature itself is orderly.... All theoretical science is ordering and if, with theoretical science (Simpson, p. 5).

THE SAVAGE MIND

tics common to all thought that we can most easily begin to This is equally true of all thought but it is through the proper-The thought we call primitive is founded on this demand for order. understand forms of thought which seem very strange to us.

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in all things, everything we come to as we travel can give us help tion to the wind separates the moment when only the wet parts of the body feel cool: 'Now, we are ready to move forward in safety' (id., pp. 77-8). As the informant explains: 'We must address with song every object we meet, because Tira'wa (the supreme spirit) is the crossing of a stream of water is divided into several parts, which their feet in water, the moment when they move them and the - the concern to assign every single creature, object or feature to a place within a class. The ceremony of the Hako among the Pawnee is particularly illuminating in this respect, although only because it has been so well analysed. The invocation which accompanies correspond, respectively, to the moment when the travellers put moment when the water completely covers their feet. The invocaplaces allocated to them. Examined superficially and from the outside, the refinements of ritual can appear pointless. They are explicable by a concern for what one might call 'micro-adjustment' A native thinker makes the penetrating comment that 'All sacred bute to the maintenance of order in the universe by occupying the were taken out of their place, even in thought, the entire order of the universe would be destroyed. Sacred objects therefore contrithings must have their place' (Fletcher 2, p. 34). It could even be said that being in their place is what makes them sacred for if they

from the numerous other associations of the same kind which science condemns as illusory. It may however be the case that magical thought, that 'gigantic variation on the theme of the of the foetus of bison which they took from the uterus of females killed in hunting. These successes cannot of course be isolated atic cataloguing of relations and connections can sometimes lead to scientifically valid results. The Blackfoot Indians for instance were This preoccupation with exhaustive observation and the systemable to prognosticate the approach of spring by the state of develop-...' (id., pp. 73, 81).

promising demand for it which can at the most be regarded as principle of Causality' as Hubert and Mauss called it (2, p. 61), can be distinguished from science not so much by any ignorance or contempt of determinism but by a more imperious and uncomunreasonable and precipitate from the scientific point of view.

particular moment when a certain man was resting beneath it. Of these causes the only one which permits intervention is witchcraft, for witchof intervention and are, therefore, whilst recognized as causes, not have fallen in any case, but since there was witchcraft present it fell at the craft emanates from a person. The buffalo and the granary do not allow Misfortune is due to witchcraft co-operating with natural forces. If a buffalo gores a man, or the supports of a granary are undermined by meningitis, Azande say that the buffalo, the granary, and the disease, are causes which combine with witchcraft to kill a man. Witchcraft does not create the buffalo and the granary and the disease for these exist in their own right, but it is responsible for the particular situation in which they termites so that it falls on his head, or he is infected with cerebro-spinal are brought into lethal relations with a particular man. The granary would As a natural philosophy it (witchcraft) reveals a theory of causation. considered the socially relevant ones (Evans-Pritchard I, p. 418-19).

before being known and properly applied, and magical rites and thought and ritual practices as an expression of the unconscious apprehension of the truth of determinism, the mode in which scientific phenomena exist. In this view, the operations of determinism are divined and made use of in an all-embracing fashion beliefs appear as so many expressions of an act of faith in a science One can go further and think of the rigorous precision of magical Seen in this way, the first difference between magic and science is therefore that magic postulates a complete and all-embracing determinism. Science, on the other hand, is based on a distinction on others the same forms of determinism are held not to apply. between levels: only some of these admit forms of determinism;

incorporate until an advanced stage of its development. For it seems to be the case that man began by applying himself to the sented to the senses, on which science for a long time turned its times succeed. Moreover they may anticipate not only science itself but even methods or results which scientific procedure does not most difficult task, that of systematizing what is immediately preback and which it is only beginning to bring back into its purview. In the history of scientific thought this 'anticipation-effect', has, The nature of these anticipations is such that they may someret to be born.

neidentally, occurred repeatedly. As Simpson (pp. 84-5) has shown with the help of an example drawn from nineteenth-century biology, it is due to the fact that, since scientific explanation is even one inspired by non-scientific principles, can hit on true arrangements. This is even to be foreseen if one grants that the number of structures is by definition finite: the 'structuring' has an intrinsic effectiveness of its own whatever the principles and always the discovery of an 'arrangement', any attempt of this type, methods which suggested it.

associations solely by the systematic use of intuitive methods. Thus to a logic of sensations tobacco smoke might be the intersection of garlic, cabbage, turnips, radishes and mustard together even though botany separates liliaceae and crucifers. In confirmation of any other form of science. Ethnographic literature reveals many of equal empirical and aesthetic value. And this is not just the result These connections and distinctions are however no surprise to our standing by supplying a basis for the associations it already divined; and at the same time one is better able to understand why and in what conditions it should have been possible to discover such bread (which are like it in being composed of nitrogen) and the other one to which cheese, beer and honey belong on account of occause they all contain aldehyde, while the closely related smells the evidence of the senses, chemistry shows that these different A primitive philosopher or a poet could have effected these regroupings on the basis of considerations foreign to chemistry or accounting for differences and resemblances which were previously aesthetic sense. On the contrary they increase its scope and undertwo groups, one also containing broiled meat and brown crusts of the presence of diacetyl. Wild cherries, cinnamon, vanilla and of wintergreen, lavender and bananas are to be explained by the families are united on another plane: they contain sulphur (W.K.). of some associative madness destined sometimes to succeed simply Modern chemistry reduces the variety of tastes and smells to different combinations of five elements: carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, sulphur and nitrogen. By means of tables of the presence and absence of the elements and estimates of proportions and minimum amounts necessary for them to be perceptible, it succeeds in excluded from its field on account of their 'secondary' character. sherry are grouped together by the intellect as well as the senses, presence of ester. On intuitive grounds alone we might group onions,

THE SCIENCE OF THE CONCRETE

passage quoted above; but he displays more insight when he shows that the demand for organization is a need common to art and science and that in consequence 'taxonomy, which is ordering har excellence, has eminent aesthetic value' (loc. cit., p. 4). Given this, it seems less surprising that the aesthetic sense can by itself by the law of chance. Simpson advances this interpretation in the open the way to taxonomy and even anticipate some of its results.

THE INFERNAL TRIANGLE a discussion of The Logic of the Equilateral Triangle or The Logic of the Hunter by JAK

An equilateral triangle is one in which all three sides are equal in length and all three angles are equal.

If two or more things are equated or said to be equal, either the things possess no individual differences or for the purposes of discussion, all individual differences are disregarded.

The "Logic of the Equilateral Triangle" is a way of connecting things or determining how things fit together and does not seem at all "logical to a western observer. It does not determine the reason or cause of anything, it just determines the way in which things fit together relative to the observer; after which, the observer acts accordingly.

Time present and time past

Are both perhaps present in time future,

And time future contained in time past.

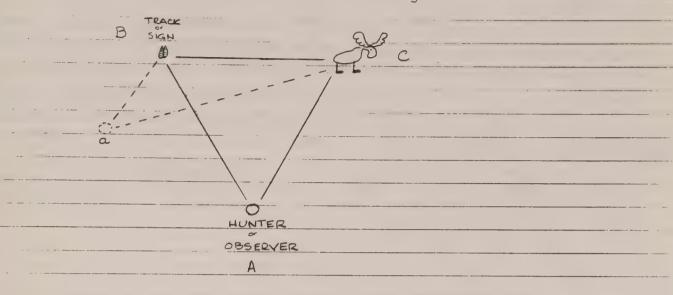
-T.S. Eliot, Burnt Norton, Four Quartets

Causality depends on the perception of time as a lineal sequence. Western logic, reasoning and the concept of causality rests on the perception of time as a line: if situation A precedes B in time and both precede Situation C, then C cannot possibly have caused either A or B, nor could B have caused A; conversely neither A nor B could possibly be the result of C (which has not occurred), nor could A be the result of B.

In the Logic of the Equilateral Triangle, time or temporal sequence is excluded; it is not a factor in determining connections. As Schoolcraft observed, Indians reason from effects, not causes. Also excluded are all connections which might exict between the things being considered and any other things or events.

* which is why the lines from Eliot are difficult to understand.

The source of the Logic of the Equilateral Triangle is to be found in the world of the hoical forager, the world of the hunter, which provides the most readily understandable example of this cystem of thinking.



Minute examination of the track or sign tells the hunter where he stands (both literally and figuratively) in relation to the moose - only if this triangulation is equilateral, will be pursue the moose.

From this basic relationship between a hunter in pursuit of his prey comes a way of looking at things whereby:

(a) the connection between oneself (A) and anything else(C) is determined and subsequently established by means of a third thing (B);

(b) all things (A, B and C) are reduced to equality - the myriad of other things which A, B or C might be connected with are disregarded;

(c) all things must be equal for any connections to exist;
(d) if the things are equal, the connections, therefore, must also be equal;

(e) a myriad of complexity is reduced to a very simple static and rigid form;

(f) anything which cannot be reduced to this form is either totally irrelevant to the observer or places the observer in a position with which he cannot cope.

* once reduced to this form, the observer becomes implacable, intractable and intransigent

** and therefore the observer is totally impervious to such things

Totems are the signs that establish whether or not there is a connection between two people. Note that since all connections in isosceles logic are equal, the basic connection between people of the same totem is one of siblings - i.e., brothers and sisters.

SIGN & STURGEON

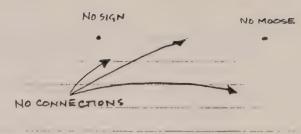
AFTERTHOUGHT: Note how this diagram represents marriages if A and C = bands. Marriage is a people exchange and therefore is the way in which to form the closest possible bonds between groups.

If totems do not establish a connection between two people, a connection can be established by the exchange of gifts. Since each individual or group is autonomous, for the connection to be equal, each must make the connection by giving something to the other. Note that any relationship between the gifts per se in terms of size, value or any other criteria is totally irrelevant - it is what the gifts are saying (i.e., that there is a connection) that is of sole significance. Also note that the taking back of a gift is a way of agreeing - i.e., that there is no connection.

If no connection exists between people or if has been established that no connection is seen or desired, then the people co-exist amicably. For a state of hostility or varfare to exist, some sign or exchange must also be given that establishes a connection of a particular nature. One way is by taking the war path - i.e., a specific trail between two villages which is used only for war and not at any other time. (d. Warroad, lake of the Woods)

^{*} what is given is probably determined by what you perceive the other most needs and/or what you have that you can spare-ie, have no immediate need for

Everything that exists just exists — it is neither good nor bad. When no connections exist where they usually do, the lack of power to make such connections (whether from illness or chance or any other cause) lies within the hunter or is connected with the hunter — i.e., he is the third vertex of a triangle, the other vertices of which are a bad manifou and his medicine.



BAD MANITOU

INO Examples

A native person (c. 1982) pointed out to the author that if an Indian is offered the choice of two jobs, one that pays \$10,/hr. for one week and one that pays \$5/hr. for 4 weeks, the Indian will always choose the former.

\$ 10/hr 46 = \$400'

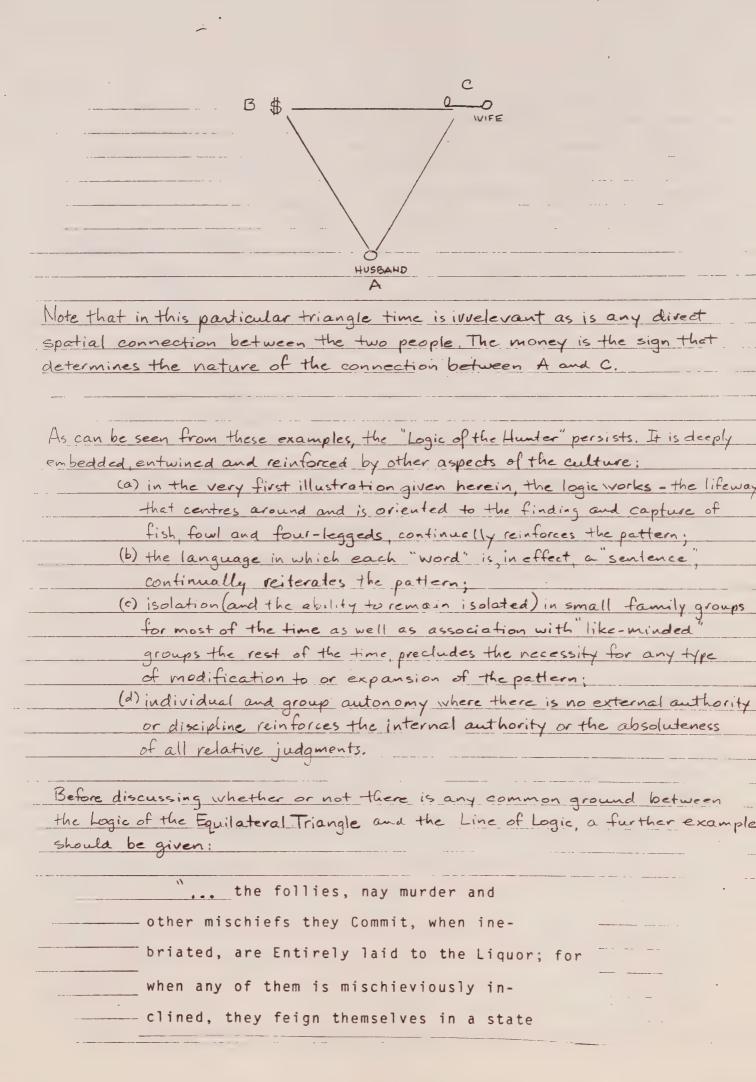
\$ 5/hr \$160 = \$800

The same way a moose is a source of meat]

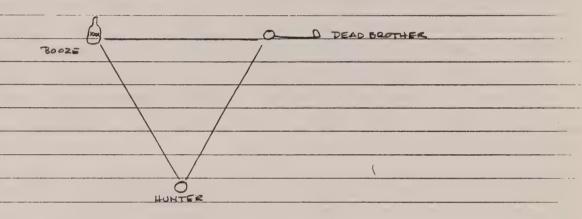
OBSERVER FORMER HUNTER

The rate of pay is the sign indicating which job to pursue. The connections between the rate, the length of job and the total dollars paid by the job are irrelevant - in the sense that because of the Logic of the Equilateral Triangle, they are not even seen or thought of. Even if pointed out to the "observer" he will still not be able to see how the extended connections have any bearing at all on his choice.

In a recent airplane crash, 3 native women and I child were killed. It is subsequently felt that some kind of negligence was responsible for the crash. Neither the husbands of the women or parents of the child will sue the airline, because: "Toget money from the airline, the husbands and parents would be seen as having killed their wives and child (respectively)."



of Oblivion or stupefaction, supposing	
that no one will lay their brutish actions	
to their account when in that state, in	
which they often only feign themselves	
to be, for whatever an Indian does a-	
miss when the least in Liquor, if you	
[remonstrate] with him on it afterwards,	
he will tell you that he remembers	
nothing of it" *	



The Liquor killed the brother. It is the Liquor that is the sign that determined the connection between the hunter and his brother. [The fact that it was the liquor that got inside the hunter is irrelevant.]

It is interesting to note that the whole argument for gun control is based on this same form of logic. Guns kill people, ergo control guns - the connection between guns and the hands of people that aim guns and pull triggers is irrelevant.]

The Logic of the Hunter vs. The Line of Logic

The Logic of the Hunter is irrefutably the only logic for a hunter and is

totally valid and adequate in the context of the Boreal Forest inst

as all other aspects of boreal lifeways represent adaptations to a panticular

context or situation. All over the world, in all other cultures based on

hunting for survival, similar time-less forms of reasoning or making

connections existed ... and worked.

^{*} Duncan Cameron, IHE HEPIGON COUNTRY, Archives of Ontario, MSS., N.W.Co. Papers, Box 3, Item 3, MU 2198 for in any other ecosystem where people survive by hunting (by which word is also meant trapping, fishing, gathering - they all must be hunted for.)

When native people speak, they frequently hit the nail precisely and concisely on the head. It is due to this ability to ignore all connections except the ones that relate to each other within the equilateral triangle. Ironically, although native people are far more aware than whites of the intervelatedness of all things, this form of reasoning denies almost all connections. Thus the more complex the situation, the more inadequate the equilateral triangle heromes

By excluding time, statements which appear to be true can be constructed even though they cannot possibly be true. Because time and other connections are disregarded, the Logic of the Equilateral Triangle cannever lead to tetrahedons and geodesic domes (see following pages) because the two vertices of the triangle which are being connected by the observer are regarded as fixed as are the single connections. Thus not only are other relevant connections to each vertex taken into account, the connections between the vertices cannot be separated and rearranged to form other structures.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the Logic of the Equilateral Triangle lies in the fact that the sole point of reference between two things is the observer. Reasoning is totally relative to and confined to a single point of view or points of view that are bound to be similar in a small group such as a band in the Borcal Forest. The larger and more diversified the group, the less adequate the equilateral triangle becomes. Regardless of size of group, its workability is contingent upon the stability and honesty of individuals. Potentially, individual authority can become very arbitrary and capricious if there is no external authority by which the validity of the reasoning can be judged. And if it does become arbitrary and capricious, it can become a very unsettling influence in a society.

This is exactly what seems to	happened	the "somebo	
came.	 		

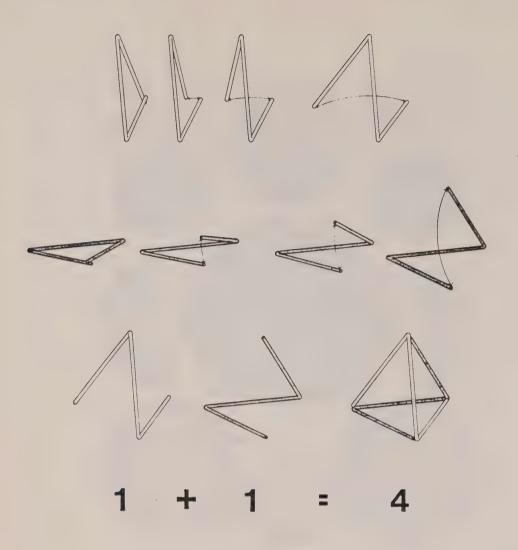
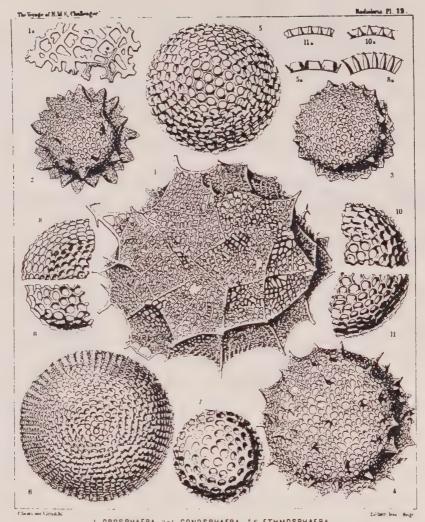


Fig. 108.01 Triangle and Tetrahedron: Synergy (l+l=4): Two triangles may be combined in such a manner as to create the tetrahedron, a figure volumetrically embraced by four triangles. Therefore one plus one seemingly equals four.



108.01 Two triangles can and frequently do associate with one another, and in so doing they afford us with a synergetic demonstration of two prime events cooperating in Universe. Triangles cannot be structured in planes. They are always positive or negative helixes. You may say that we had no right to break the triangles open in order to add them together, but the triangles were in fact never closed because no line can ever come completely back into itself. Experiment shows that two lines cannot be constructed through the same point at the same time (see Sec. 517, "Interference"). One line will be superimposed on the other. Therefore, the triangle is a spiral—a very flat spiral, but open at the recycling point.



1 OROSPHAERA . 2-4 CONOSPHAERA . 5-6 ETHMOSPHAERA 7-11 CERIOSPHAERA Fig. 203.09 Examples of Geodesic Design in Nature.

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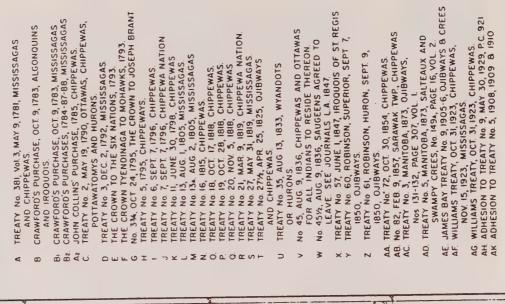
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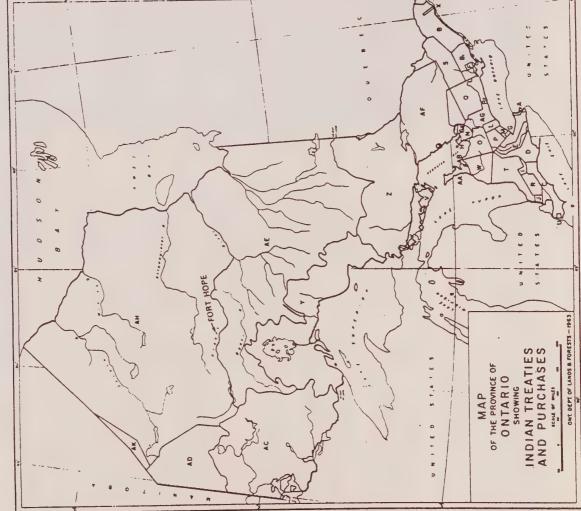
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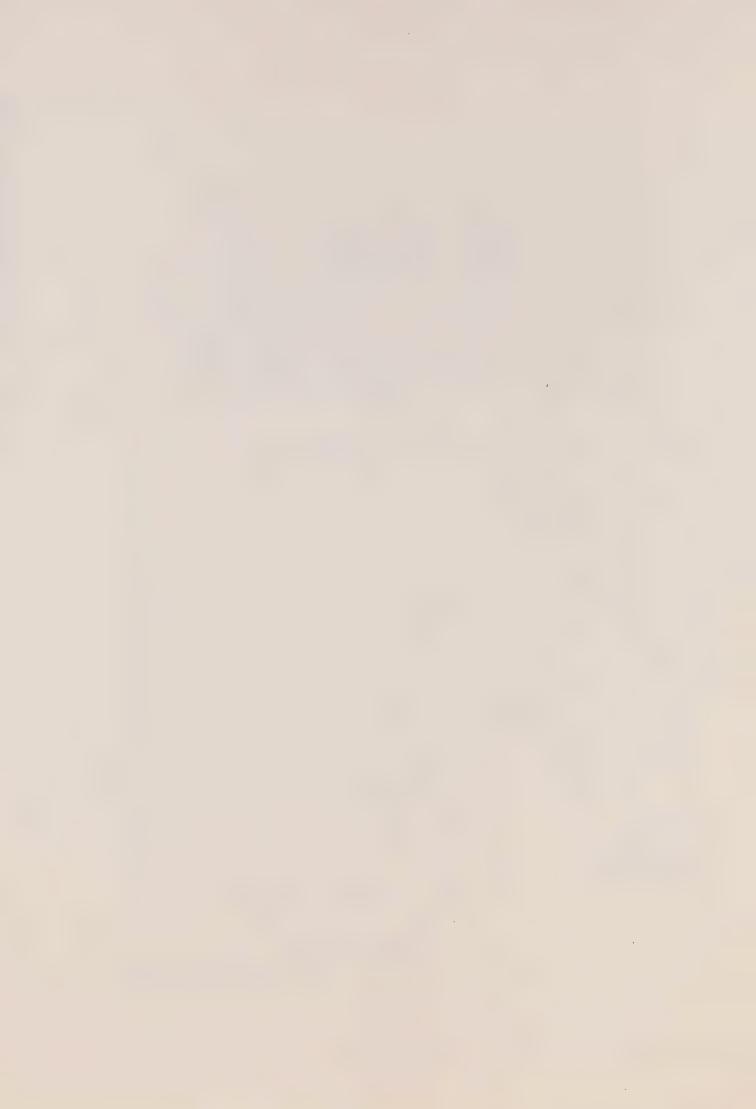
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TRADITIONAL HISTORY

AND

CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES

OF THE

OJIBWAY NATION.

BY G. COPWAY,

OR, KAH-GE-GA-GAH-BOWH, CHIEF OF THE OJIBWAY

LONDON:

CHARLES GILPIN, 5, BISHOPSGATE WITHOUT. EDINBURGH: ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK. DUBLIN: JAMES B. GILPIN.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN GENERAL.

Being desirous of doing all that I can towards bettering the condition of my brethren, I here subjoin four letters, originally addressed to the "Saturday Evening Post" of Philadelphia, on the subject of Indian Civilization,—the plan which I have presented before different legislatures, and recently in a memorial presented in both Houses of

Congress for their action.

I am happy to say that there is a universal approval of this plan throughout the Union; and it is my design to request the General Government of this country that they may sooner or later take these Indians under their care, and have the credit of dealing justly with her long abused red races. If Congress does not do anything in the present first session of the thirty-first Congress, I shall go again—and just as often as they

meet, I shall press this subject before them, until something is done. The remarks here penned may be also applied in the case of our nation, who are now becoming demoralized yearly by alcoholic drinks.

I desire the reasons here given to be weighed by all impartial readers, and if any lack of soundness in our arguments be found, let it not be laid to the weakness of the cause we advocate, but to the writer's deficiency for such a work.

INDIAN CIVILIZATION.

Mr. Editor, — Your readers will have noticed by the papers throughout the Union, the plan I have presented before the American public of my endeavours to save a remnant of the scattered Indian tribes of the north-west.

I will endeavour to give a short outline, in three or four letters, of the matter as follows:—

1. Why the Indians have not improved, and why they have decreased in numbers, when coming in contact with the Europeans, since the first commencement of their intercourse until the present.

2. The fears I entertain that they never will hold a peaceable possession of any great

portion of the west.

3. The plan I advocate, and its practica-

4. The benefit it must be to the American Government, and to the Indians.

I. In this letter: Why they have not improved, and why they have decreased in numbers.

be wondered at when it is generally known adventurous spirits, willing to raise themselves by the downfall of the Indian race. These are traders, spirit-sellers, horse thieves, poisoned and pre-occupied, the morality and education which the better classes would teach them are forestalled. This is not to that the frontier settlers are made up of wild, and their vices, and their minds being thus settlers they meet the worst classes of pale faces. They soon adopt their foolish ways ence to your columns; yet I will mention a In their intercourse with the frontier be in accordance with my present object, nor with the necessity imposed on me with refertages they have had to encounter would not To give a statement of all the disadvan257

scape-gallowses, who gious, and refined, they know but little of neither fear God nor regard the laws of with such men, as representatives of the When the Indians come in contact American people, what else could be expected of them? It is not strange, that, seeing as he does the gross immorality of the whites right, which begins when they first meet, and ends not until one dies, that he refuses to follow the footsteps of the white man in the whom he meets, and the struggle between the pale face for wrong and the red man for attainment of science. The majority having never been in the society of the good, relithe advantages of civilization. counterfeiters, and

There has been another class of men who have kept pace with the frontier, whose the Indians; these having such implacable they may engage in their favourite work of the more easterly states some years ago by fathers and friends were killed in the wars in hatred against the poor Indians, do all they can to enrage one race against the other, and if possible involve the two in war, that depredation.

II. Their love of adventurous life.

Their fathers having been Nimrods, in a

literal sense, they have followed in their foot-

they have hunted for a living, and thus perthem from gradually acquiring the arts of civilized life; and leaving local employment, people have come upon them, has prevented The suddenness with which the American rican Indian the peaceful arts of agriculture, Not that I would have you suppose that for he has already proved himself teachable. there is no such thing as teaching the Ametion which was their early education. petuated that independent, roaming

in the belief that government will want their III. The agitation of mind they experience lands and they be removed to the west.

trations, until now. Fear has prevented the judge of the deleterious influence which the None but an Indian can, perhaps, rightly repeated removals of the Indians has wrought, since they began in the days of Jefferson, and have been continued by succeeding adminis-Indian from making any very great advancement in agricultural science.

want more land, and they be obliged to sell tribes, they have been conscious of the fact that the government may and doubtless will Having seen the removal of other Indian

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at whatever price government may see fit to give, and thus all improvements they might have made would become useless to them.

In some instances, the missionaries have done well in subduing the wild and warring dispositions of the Indians, but these lessons have been lost by the removal of the Indians westward, and should he say aught, he is tical attitude towards his own government, represented by the agents in an antagonisand the Indian has been the sufferer.

IV. The want of Schools of the character that are required for the Education of the

I mean schools where the whip may be dispensed with as the motive power of acquiring education, and where rational beings are to be taught in a rational manner. This whipping to learn is brutish and degrading-I might add, savage.

Gentle persuasion is that cord which has done the most for me and others. Many a school-teacher who has gone into the Indian country, had just as much right to become a teacher to the Indians, as I have to sit in the place of "Old Rough and Ready."

You will tell me, no doubt, that the Indians have been taught the advantages of educa-

not only the common school, but schools of tion—that some even have gone and attended, a high order, colleges, and have returned to the forest again-have put on the blanket and roamed the woods. This has not always been the case. I might name a great many, who to my knowledge, have done and are now doing well for themselves and for their

of all the qualities of a gentleman, without The reasons for their returning back again, and their not having learned any trade with which to be employed on their leaving the schools. . Having no employment, and no income, they found themselves in possession were the absence of a good moral training, the requisite funds to support themselves.

of inspiration—and as fast as the clouds of knowing only Christianity in theory, and not by a practical knowledge of the persuasive how could they teach them what they are destitute of themselves? Open the pages ignorance shall roll away, let the warm rays from Him who smiles from the sky into the soul. The mind of the Indian, well polished, shall then shine like the pure pearl from the Some of their teachers where they went, influences of its truths in the mind and soul,

deep. The cause of Education and Christianity must be to him what the wings are to eagles, both must be exercised before he can arise aloft.

language, it is true, is very hard to learn, but Our language perpetuates our own ideas of hand, by giving them an English education, you introduce them into the endless field of experience of the past, they might learn the elements which would produce the greatest since it is to be the universal language in all civilization, as well as the old usages in our read these, but not one sentence of English. nation; and, consequently, how limited our field of acquiring knowledge! On the other English literature, and from the accumulated amount of good to our nation. The English lishing a few books. We have been able to course afterwards tells me—We know better than you do-and, therefore, a great amount has been expended in translating and pubguage what little some have learned, is one the country. I have endeavoured to persuade them to teach our people English, and their of time, and a tremendous amount of money of those errors in which the majority of missionaries have fallen, unintentionally, all over Teaching the Indians in their own lan-

lands, the sooner you give them this the better. I conclude this part of my letter by stating that the most requisite things for the Indian are these three—a mechanical or an agricultural education, a high-toned literature, and a rational moral training. Give him these—you make him exalted. Deprive him of these—you make him degraded.

V. The great quantity of land which they have reserved to themselves for the purpose of hunting

This wild field, filled with a variety of game, perpetuates their natural propensity of living by the use of the bow and arrow; instead of following the plough and having the hoe in hand. When they can have a piece of land they can call their own, and so limited that the scarcity of game will oblige them to till the soil for a subsistence, then they will improve, and the sooner this state of things is brought about the better.

VI. The mode generally adopted by the missionaries in introducing Christianity among the Indian tribes.

I know I shall be censured here—I can only appeal to the experience of the past, and leave every one to decide for himself. The

possibly understand the foundation of the Indian not knowing abstract truths, cannot many doctrinal views which he is desired to learn and adopt. Forms of worship, varied as they are, have been urged on him, and in being perplexed, his mind is thus prejudiced to Christianity.

him, and he will soon see the right from the Veneration and devotion make up the Indian's heart. Take him as he is, and lead We want also educated men. It has been the idea of some that any thing will do for the Indians. wrong.

Other reasons might be given, did space allow; now, I proceed to give, in conclusion, a few of the reasons why their numbers have been lessened.

1. The Diseases introduced by Europeans.

The Indian nations had no small pox thousands since it has been introduced into Many an ill-fated tribe have followed their ancestors down to the grave, haggard, diseased, wretched and loathsome, by the disease or measles.—The small pox has destroyed this country. Entire families have perished. which keeps pace with the debauchery towards the west.

known before, they knew not how to check These diseases, not many of them being their disastrous progress.

2. Wars which they have made on each other since the introduction of fire-arms.

Before this, the weapons they used against one another were not so disastrous as the rifle has been since. With the gun they have been as expert as they were with the bow and arrow. Champlain, in the year 1609, supplied the Algonquins of the north with the weapons of war, that they might relates. They receiving those weapons of The Dutch supplied the Six Nations with the same materials. The Spaniards of the south and others, might be cited, which history successfully wage war with the Six Nations. war from a civilized and Christianized nation, guaranteed a free use of them.

3. Wars which have raged in this country between the whites. During these wars the Indian has been called from the woods to show his fearless nature, and for obeying, and showing himself fearless, it is said of him that he is "a man without a tear." He has been stigmatized with the name—" a savage,"—by the very people who called for his aid, and he gave it.

In the midst of these mighty contests, the Indian has been put in the front ranks, in the most dangerous positions, and has consequently been the greatest loser.

4. And lastly—The introduction of spirituous liquors.

piness entwined around the fire-side of the victims—all, all,—yes, all for "model New England rum." The ministry of this country, have died away in wails of grief! Fathers' year lessening their numbers. Wave after wings of the angel of death have covered their fires, and still unsatisfied, it screams for more from vale to vale. And around the cheering mon brotherhood cemented them all. But dissipation commenced, and the ruin and downfall of a noble race has gone on-every wave of destruction has gone on-the ravenceived the gain of avarice. Peace and hap-Indian once. Union, harmony, and a com-Children have sent their wail of woe, echoing fires of the Indian, the white man has reas soon as these vile drinks were introduced, combined, intemperance and disease. The This has been greater than all other evils fire-water has done its work of disaster. By it the glad shouts of the youth of our land have followed their children to their graves.

and the sluggards in the cause of humanity, say now: There is a fate or certain doom on the Indians, therefore we need do nothing for them. How blasphemous! First you give us rum by the thousand barrels, and, before the presence of God and this enlightened world, point to God, and charge him as the murderer of the unfortunate Indians.

"Oh, Mercy, oh, Mercy! look down from above, Great Creator, on us Thy sad children with love."

Yes, save us from such orthodoxy! The laws of nature deranged in the Indian, both morally and physically, has been the consequence of his sinking condition.

I have already taken too much of your space. I must conclude. My next will be the fears I entertain they will not hold their lands to any great extent this side of the Rocky Mountains.

Excuse all errors, for I have by a railroad accident been thrown on my bed.

I am, sir, yours, in the cause of humanity.

INDIAN CIVILIZATION. -- NO. II.

Mr. Editor,—In this letter I will give you the grounds of my fears why the Indians will

of the western country, unless by special act never have a permanent hold upon any part of Congress.

tion. -In this way for years the fires of the have ever unsettled the minds of the Indians Indian lodge have been removed west. Their rights have been trampled upon by the 1. Their position upon the press of emigrasettlers, and this, with other annoyances, -the consequence has been, and will be, that they will remove, step by step, to escape this annoyance.

The present belief of the western and south-western Indians, that they never will be again moved, and that the land that they now occupy is to be their own for ever-what not the same plea which was given to remove sort of a guarantee do they have of their conthe New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Georgia Indians—will not the same plea of tinuing on their lands unmolested? Will necessity (and, as some say, an act of kindness to them) be urged on those on the other side of the father of waters as has been urged on this side? If not this, enterprise-yes, Yankee enterprise, will require railroads to be laid out, canals to be opened, military roads cut through the land of the Indians

in the west, and their land must either be bought from them or taken. And when this is done, or commenced to be done, they will cease to work their lands, since such labour would not be for their benefit, but for those who must occupy it when they leave it. The delightful fields of the Indians in Georgia were the great objects which the white men

2. The quantity of land they have reserved to themselves, has retarded their progress in the acquirement of agricultural science. They have lived on the game which roamed in their woods, which has called off their attention tivation of the soil, since it is easier to hunt from the soil. They will still neglect the culfor game for a living than to toil in the field. This quantity is a detriment to us-we do not want so much land. But, what we have, give it to us for ever.

3. The quality is another. There is a rich the Rocky Mountains, the only rich land, and the Indian has been placed on this like vated, the pale face will reason himself into spot of land this side of the desert below a barrier. The land so occupied, if not cultithe idea that the Great Spirit intended to make the whole of North America a farm

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yard, and thereby justify himself for taking to till what the Indian could not improve.

the annuities as we now do on ours. So, they sale, and soon the government will want to misery, must sell their land piece by piece, have, within my knowledge, reasoned this Our fathers sold their lands to the government, and lived on the proceeds of the buy this land, and our children will live on will fare no worse than we have. In this way they become impoverished, and they to sustain soul and body a few years of lingering 4. Necessity will oblige him to sell. They until all is gone and they must suffer.

Much greater and certain evils are yet to be apprehended, arising from another source, which is this:

suffering among the Indians, and a world of children, but to the frontier for the cattle of 5. The scarcity of game for food must cause the Indian go to get any thing to feed his the settlers for food? and this will cause war trouble to the frontier settlers. Where will and bloodshed.

The game is being killed more and more lers in the buffalo country, that this game every year. It is computed by recent travelalone is killed at the rate of one hundred

On one hand, far off below, the dying fires Jame of all kinds is disappearing this side of the Rocky Mountains. Twelve years ago we of circumstances, the Indian is obliged to live on the cattle of the frontiers—as soon as the to go and destroy a few dying and gasping Indians. The boom of the cannon and the rattle and peal of the drum will sing the dirge of the once free and powerful sons of he will think of the land of his forefathers, mustering his armies on the peaks of the cliffs thousand every year, by trappers and the Indians, for their hide and tongues, which could go seventy-five miles west of Dubuque, kind up to buffalo; now, I travelled last summer four hundred miles west of the above found no game of any kind! When, by force "The Indians are coming on us." The answer will be, "To arms, to arms," and the soldiery of the United States must be sent America. Desperation will drive the Indian of the west, they will shout to each other. are sold to traders on the Upper Missouri. lowa, on the Mississippi, for game of every mountains towards the Missouri river, and first bullock is killed, the cry will be heard, to die at the cannon's mouth-for it is then which will nerve him to the field of war!-

of his race lie scattered, and the graves of his ancestors desecrated—his children scattered where he has been driven. On the other hand, he will see the races of the Pacific driven to the eastward from the valley of the Columbia. It is there I expect to see what our forefathers have not yet witnessed. My blood runs cold when I think of it.—Great God, save us from realizing the horrors of an exterminating war!

6. Their isolated condition in detached numbers will be the means of preventing the acquirement of knowledge. When there is no stimulus to improve, there will be no idea of learning much. In small bodies, they nations, instead of addressing us as an Indian retain all the feelings of their forefathers, and will continue this way. The American government has addressed us like different nation, and as one family; they have in this way perpetuated our differences towards each other.—The same law which governs the among the pale faces, in some degree would then keep them at peace with each other. The law of necessity—the law of a common interest-the law of love, are so many inmasses of people of all nations (civilized) fluences which ought to have operated on

the feuds which have been kept up must them before; since, then, these are wanting, The tribes, prosper. But collect them in a large body being weakened by their hostilities, can never by themselves, and commence rationally to adopt a system of pupilage which will be well adapted for the young; and one good man would be like a light-house in a storm, who accessarily exist for some time. would warn and guide the rest.

In my next I will give the plan of concentrating the north-west Indian tribes and its practicability.

I am, sir, yours, in the cause of humanity,

INDIAN CIVILIZATION. -- NO. 111.

ing, have decreased their numbers, and the Mr. Editor,—Having, in as few words as opinion, have prevented them from improvfoundation of my fears that they are yet in have drawn up, and which I have been possible, given the causes which, in my laying before the American people during the past year. I have had the honour of a critical situation, I will state the plan I addressing legislative bodies from South

Carolina to Massachusetts, as also the people of various cities and towns.

ment to locate the Indians in a collective body, where, after they are secured in their lands, they may make such improvements as My object is to induce the general governshall serve to attach them to their homes.

This will be more applicable to the Indians of the north-west than to those of the southwest; for I would not be understood as thinking or legislating for the civilized portion, who are by far the most enlightened of the American Indians.

The questions naturally arise, When and how can this be accomplished? ticable?

the task of showing plainly the place where I feel that I am inadequate to perform they ought to be settled, as well as the manner in which it is to be brought about. Different individuals will have different opinions on these points.

The location which I have chosen for their home, is the unsettled land, known as the north-west territory, between the territories of Nebraska and Minesota, on the eastern banks of the Missouri river. The great Sioux river being the eastern boundary, from its

would form an Indian territory large enough for all the scattered tribes of Michigan, have named this as the most suitable location meets the Missouri river; thence down the Missouri to the place of beginning.-This head waters draw a line westward until it Wisconsin, Iowa, &c. The reasons why I for them are the following:-

trade, and the races coming in contact withas to the country where they are to form a nucleus of settlements.—It is the idea with cause the upper waters of the Mississippi are going to be the greatest source of lumberone another must cause trouble along the I would not be understood as dictating some, that in the upper waters of the Mississippi river, would likely be the place. my own ideas differ much from this.

dred and fifty miles north of this trail. The south would not do. In the first, they would thence westward.—They would be two hunclimate is best for them. Either north or They will go away from the course of emigration which goes up the Missouri and suffer from cold; in the last, from sickness.

would cause their removal to be gradual, The distance of this territory westward

and by the time the whites should reach could compete with the whites in point of there, the Indians would be so far improved intelligence, and mechanical and agricultural as to be enabled to live as neighbours, and

The last, but not the least question which arises, is this-

IS IT PRACTICABLE? I think it is.

1. Their interests being in the hands of the United States government, the government would have an influence for good in reference to their annuities. By an annual distribution of these, they would become attached to the place of concentration.

the removal of the Indians, may be made 2. All the treaties, having for their end with an understanding, that they are never would be one of the greatest inducements beings. Convince them it is for their good, that could be presented to them, and they would soon go.—They are not stubborn to be moved again, should they go. and you will speedily attain your object.

tially civilized. The oftener they see one would rather live in large bodies than in small ones, particularly when they are par-3. The Indians are a social race.

another, the more rapidly would their jealousies cease to exist. Their children, growing ment and a mutual regard for each other's up together, would acquire a mutual attachwelfare.

is peculiarly adapted for such a state of 4. The language of the north-west tribes society; they would soon understand each other, the Ojibway language being the great family language of all the Algonquin tribes west. This is one of the best appeals I made says we were all one people once, and now to be reunited will be a great social blessing. to them when I visited them. Wars must then cease.

5. By giving encouragement to those who would go there to settle, there would be no difficulty in getting them there, for the educated portion of them would be the first to go and lay the foundation for a settlement. And such are those whom I would have go, for they do so from good motives.

6. Should they not be induced to go in collective bodies? A proclamation from the President of the United States, calling upon as they must soon have recourse to farming for a living, would induce them individually all the north-west tribes to till the ground,

to go without the chiefs, and they would, as soon as they entered the new territory, frame laws founded on republicism. The hereditary chiefship must cease to exist, before they can make any rapid advancement; for when you allow the meritorious only to rule, there will be found a great many who will study to improve in general information, and fit themselves for statesmen and divines.

7. The practicability of this plan has been questioned only by one man in the Senate of the United States, and he, a western man. I should think the questioning of the practicability of removing the Indians to a secured portion of the north-west, does not arise from patriotic motives; but the Indians in their present scattered condition might still feed the many who hang on the Indians and on the General Government for a living, and might have some share of the general plunder which is carried on in the west.

It is not practicable to remove the Indians for *their good*, unless it is to remove them when it will likely fill the pockets of men, more vicious than the worst of the forest tribes.

It was practicable to remove the Georgia

Indians.—It was practicable to remove the Seminoles from the dismal swamps of Florida—and the repeated removal of the northern tribes westward, and still westward, they soon would obey it, and go, if not in collective bodies, at least individually.

8. War must then cease to exist. There will be no game, nor any territory, to fight for. They soon must learn, that in destroying one it is to strike a blow at all, and the public opinion will triumph, and frown down any such acts of misdemeanour of the inhabitants.

9. Gradually the chiefship, which is hereditary, would cease to exist, for this is one of the greatest barriers to their civilization. By giving the rule and authority to the well educated, their improvement would be rapid, but, heretofore, the elder Indians have ruled, and their prejudicial views of education, have ever unfitted them to become a fit medium of instruction to their people. And in this way many will then study hard to fit themselves to become the rulers of the nation.

10. The comparatively peaceable condition of the north-west Indian tribes at present is favourable. The wars which raged in years past, are not now in existence.—The spirit

of war is dying away at the approach of civilization westward, and the more peaceable acts of civilized life are being practiced by 11. The great number of young men that are among the various Indian tribes, who are ready to carry forward any benevolent measure which may be supported by the government of the United States. The New York Indians are now so far civilized as to There are young men in that nation'who would do honour to any position in the have a republican government of their own. arrangement of a government for the Indians. The Chippeway nation has a great number of well-educated young men. The Stockbridges, Oneidas, and Shawnees, all these have been blessed with a partial civilization.

Many other reasons might be given besides the above. I will close now, and in my next I will speak of the benefits which must accrue to the American Government and to the

I am, Sir, yours, in the cause of humanity.

INDIAN CIVILIZATION. -- NO. IV.

Mr. Editor,—Having stated the reasons why I deem my scheme practicable, I will, in conclusion, allude to the advantages that would accrue, not only to the United States, but to the Indians.

To the American Government.

1. This system would simplify the Indian department. 2. They would not have so much perplexity in adjusting difficulties.

3. The outlay in Indian agencies would be lessened.

of the Indian on the white man which have caused the disgraceful wars which this 4. Establish a court of justice in the Indian territory, and no trouble would be had with them, as the difficulties would be legally settled. For sometimes it has been the hasty means used to suppress the encroachments country has seen. Such would be obviated.

country from the encroachments of the now they are not actually required. But if 5. The expense of fortifying the western Indians would be dispensed with, and even the government must build forts and esta-

blish military posts, let there be one in the centre of the new Indian territory, to give efficiency to the laws of the Indian government, to protect the peace and persons in that country.

Go in the spirit of the illustrious William Penn, that noble personification of Christianity, and you will have no trouble with the Indians this side of the Rocky Mountains.

6. The outlay for transporting the Indians would cease to be a burden. I believe, the Indians would now go of their own accord, did they know that the land could be thus occupied by them.

7. The buying of the land from the Indians over and over would not then have to be done.

8. The peaceful and friendly relations that must then exist would be one of the strongest bonds of union in time of peace, and cause them to be neutral in time of war.

9. Besides the above considerations, there are higher motives which ought to prompt the members of Congress—motives arising in the consideration that they are only forwarding the great design of Heaven, to improve the races of this country. By intelligence enlarge the arena of human freedom, and

your leading the Indian may be like the noble eagle's first flight with its young to the sun.

The advantages to the Indians.

1. By having permanent homes, they would soon enjoy the fruit of their labour. Poverty would be unknown, plenty would reign, and cheerfulness aid them in their work

2. Seminaries of learning would be permanently located; every stone you laid for the foundation of a school would tell. The repeated removals of the Indians have retarded the progress of moral and physical training among them, and caused many good men to become discouraged in their alms-giving for their improvement. It has not been so much the fault of the Indian, as it has been the error of judgment in the distribution of these

3. The appropriation by the United States, for the education of the Indians, of 10,000 dollars, would then be a benefit to those for whom it is intended. Let the government endow a college in the central part of the Indian country, and it would have an influence for good to the end of time.

4. And besides this, what an amount would

DA TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF

accumulate, were all the school funds which the Indians have even now given by the government in its generosity for their annuities, and which now many Indian tribes know not what to do with, thus appropriated. Concentration of means and of effort on the part of the benevolently-disposed, must necessarily, in the process of time, do a great deal of good.

5. In treaties which are to be made, if a policy could be pursued in such a way as to get the annuities of the Indians to be paid in part toward the national education of the whole colony, much of what is needed in reference to means would be so augmented as to give whole districts of country the benefit of an enlightened education.

But, say you, how will you reconcile the different denominations of Christians who may go there to teach? Having no predilection to division and discord, I would not have one dollar of the money which the generosity of the government should give, go toward perpetuating discordant elements. No! I want to make the great family of the Indians One, should I live long enough—one in interest, one in feeling, one while they live, and one in a better world after death.

6. Emulation among themselves would spring up; and each would labour for the other's good—a spirit of rivalry would soon be seen were a premium to be given to those who should raise the largest amount of agricultural produce.

7. The result of all this would be a rapid increase of intelligence among the Indians, and steps would soon be taken to have a representation in Congress.

It is hoped that, without making any special plea for the red man, that sense of justice which dwells in the heart of every true American will lead the members of Congress to give the above reasons a passing consideration.

Кан-GE-GA-GAН-Воwн.

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York, 1851. Copway also wrote a hymn in operated with the Rev. Sherman Hall in the translation of the Gospel of St. Luke (Boston, 1837) and the Acts of the Apostles (Boston,

838). He died at Pontlac, Mich., about 1863.

France, Germany, Belgium and Scotland, New the Chippewa language (London, 1851) and co-



